

The
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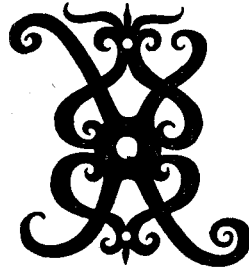
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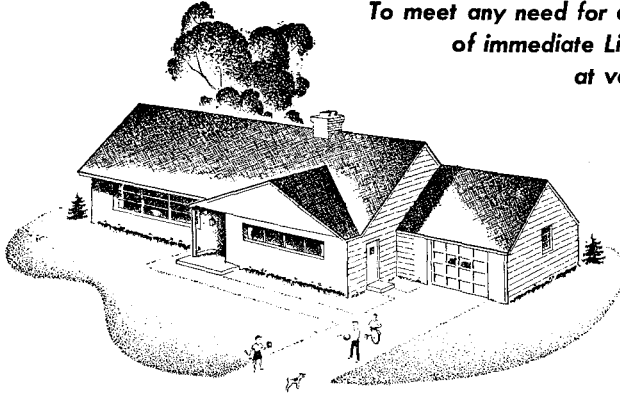
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"With How Little Wisdom . . ."

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT*

WHEN I began the study of history at the University of Oxford in October 1905, the Russo-Japanese War had recently come to an end through the good offices of the United States. Shortly after my arrival in England, a conference opened at Algeciras to deal with the question of Morocco. In 1907 the second Peace Conference met at The Hague. The Young Turk revolution occurred in the following year, to be followed shortly by the annexation of Bosnia to Austria-Hungary. These events made a strong impression on my youthful mind; and when I entered upon graduate study, I decided to write a doctoral dissertation on a theme involving diplomatic history and the Near East. I duly accomplished this in 1910.¹

At Oxford the study of English history stopped with 1837, the year when Queen Victoria ascended the throne, while continental history ended with the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Anything written about recent and con-

* Mr. Schmitt, Andrew MacLeish Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of Modern History, University of Chicago, gave this presidential address at the American Historical Association annual dinner, the Statler-Hilton Hotel, New York City, December 29, 1960.

¹ *British Policy and the Enforcement of the Treaty of Berlin, 1878-1887* (Madison, Wis., 1917).

temporary affairs could not be history, for it lacked the proper sources and was likely to be tainted with "politics." Diplomatic documents were seldom available in 1910, for issues of Blue, Yellow, and other colored Books, so common in the nineteenth century, had been much curtailed.² Foreign offices did not like being quizzed by journalists and revealed as little as they could. The student of diplomacy was dependent on the press; speeches in Parliament, in the *Reichstag*, and in other legislative bodies; monthly reviews in Britain, France, Germany, and Italy; and occasional specialized periodicals. In the spring of 1914 I wrote a little essay on the Balkan wars of 1912-1913. My sources were the London *Times* and the New York *Times*, speeches in Parliament, and two British, three French, and one German monthly. Very few documents had come to light. A comparison of this pamphlet with a full-dress book on the Balkan wars published in 1938 will make my point clear.³

Contemporary diplomatic history begins with the coming of war in July 1914. At that time the information purveyed by the press was quite inadequate. From the murder at Sarajevo on June 28 to the grand climacteric on August 4, the London *Times* and the New York *Times* recorded little more than the outstanding events: the details of the crime, with something about its victims; the Austro-Hungarian note to Serbia and the latter's reply; the rejection of that reply and the Russian decision to intervene; the British proposal for a conference of ambassadors and the German refusal; the Austrian declaration of war and the Russian mobilization; the German ultimatums to Russia and France followed by declarations of war; the speech in Parliament of the British Foreign Secretary; the German refusal to respect the neutrality of Belgium and the British declaration of war. Of the intense diplomatic activity of the Thirteen Days (July 23-August 4, 1914) little was said because little was known. The London *Times* hardly got beyond referring (inaccurately) to a British proposal of mediation on the evening of July 29, to which the German reply "could hardly be favorable." The New York *Times* printed dispatches from Vienna stating that the Emperor Francis Joseph had insisted on aggressive action against Serbia and that the Austrian note had been written in Berlin. Its reports from London and St.

² France published Yellow Books for the two Moroccan crises of 1905 and 1911, and Germany issued a White Book for the first crisis. Britain, although deeply involved in both, did not publish a Blue Book for either. Austria-Hungary released a Red Book on the Bosnian crisis of 1909, but its example was not followed by Russia.

³ E. C. Helmreich, *The Diplomacy of the Balkan Wars, 1912-1913* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938). Sometime in 1914 Austria-Hungary issued a Red Book and Russia an Orange one on the Balkan wars, but they did not become available in the United States until after the outbreak of war in July 1914. The French Yellow Book was not published until 1922, and no Blue Book was issued.

Petersburg asserted that British support had been promised to Russia; on August 1 Germany was said to be ready to press Austria for a compromise. The paper also printed many wild rumors.

The representatives of the United States in Europe were not much better informed. Only the chargé in Russia seems to have had a clear notion of what was happening and kept the Department of State informed. On July 27 the ambassador in Berlin reported that he had "reason to believe matters will be arranged without a general European war"; only on July 31 did he express the opinion that "Russia's mobilization makes war inevitable."

In order to justify themselves to their own peoples and to the world, the belligerent governments soon issued varicolored Books of diplomatic papers relating to the outbreak of the war. These were published *seriatim* in the United States by the New York *Times*, put together in a booklet, and reviewed by an eminent lawyer whose book was widely read.⁴ They were also collected in a single volume by the British government and distributed throughout the world as propaganda; the German White Book was so little convincing and contained so few documents that it was included in the British volume. A world-wide debate ensued from the study of these documents, and the verdict generally went against Germany. It never occurred to me (nor, so far as I know, to anyone else) to doubt the integrity of the documents. We now know that scores of relevant documents were omitted or changed and that many published documents were "edited." Awkward passages were deleted or altered and in some cases documents were made to order. Historical compositions based on the publications of 1914, including one of my own, are now of little use.

The revolutions in 1917 in Russia and the revolutions in Austria and Germany in 1918 brought to power socialist governments that, in order to discredit the fallen regimes, began opening their archives. While the Bolsheviks concentrated on the secret treaties made by the Czar's government with Britain and France, the Social Democrats in Vienna and Berlin turned to the crisis of July 1914. Purporting to give the complete diplomatic exchanges of that fatal month, the new Books revealed how the Austro-Hungarian government had decided on war against Serbia and the partition of that country (even at the risk of war with Russia), how this program had been explained to Berlin, and that Germany had agreed to it and urged its immediate execution. The succeeding steps which culminated in the German declaration of war against Russia on August 1 were set forth in meticulous detail. During subsequent years the complete files for July 1914 were released by the

⁴ James M. Beck, *The Evidence in the Case* (New York, 1915).

British, Russian, and French governments. The long-delayed Italian papers may be expected at any time, but the publication of the Serbian documents remains highly problematical. It is now possible to reconstruct in greater detail than is possible for any other diplomatic crisis the calamitous course of events that ended a century of general peace and ushered in the era of conflict in which we now live. Among the numerous British, French, German, Italian, and United States historians who have written about the crisis, the last word has been said by the Italian Luigi Albertini.⁵ It is ironical, however, that he did not have the Italian documents, which conceivably might have led him to take a somewhat less critical view of the policy of his own country.

By the time that Karl Kautsky, who had been commissioned by the Socialist government of Germany to publish the documents of July 1914, had completed his work, that government had been replaced by a coalition which, while it did not dare suppress Kautsky's work, was appalled by its revelations. In the hope, therefore, of discounting or minimizing them, it ordered the publication of documents prior to the crisis of 1914. The result was that series of forty volumes bound in red, white, and black, the colors of the fallen empire and known to all students of diplomatic history as *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette 1871-1914*. Publication was begun in 1922 and completed in 1927.⁶ As a piece of propaganda for the German cause, it proved extraordinarily effective. By the late 1920's prewar diplomatic history began to be rewritten in terms of German documents. Other governments ultimately had to follow the German example. Only France went back to 1871; Great Britain was content to start with 1898, and Austria with 1908. Soviet Russia announced plans for a vast series dating from 1878, but, in fact, issued only four volumes for 1911-1912 and then a series from January 1914 to October 1915. Italy did not commence publishing its papers until after the Second World War. Belgium and Yugoslavia, the successor of Serbia, have done nothing. The historian does not, therefore, have available a complete published record for the years 1871-1914.

How reliable are these vast collections? Generally speaking, the reputations of the several editors were so high that there was no disposition to believe that their work was not honest, that they had withheld documents which

⁵ Luigi Albertini, *Le origini della guerra del 1914* (3 vols., Milan, 1942-43; Eng. trans., Oxford, Eng., 1952-57).

⁶ Johannes Lepsius et al., *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette 1871-1914* (40 vols. in 54, Berlin, 1922-27). This was not quite a unique undertaking, for the French government had begun in 1910 to publish the papers relating to the origins of the war of 1870. But forty years had elapsed since that war, and the persons involved were dead, whereas the *Grosse Politik* was almost a contemporary publication, and many of the persons involved were still living.

made awkward revelations. Some doubt has been expressed, however, about the *Grosse Politik*. The most important files of the German Foreign Office for 1871–1918 were filmed after the Second World War while the documents were in England, and the films are now available in certain public archives and university libraries. As the result of some private investigations, an interesting correspondence appeared in the *London Times Literary Supplement* in August–September 1953. According to this, Gottlieb von Jagow, State Secretary of the German Foreign Office from 1913 to 1916, wrote to Friedrich Thimme, the editor in chief of the *Grosse Politik*, that publication of the documents on the grounds of political interest should not be an end in itself—"political ends must have priority"—whereupon he was assured by Thimme that "the treatment of the documents would be such as to offer every guarantee against injurious effects from their publication." In a memorandum written in 1928, Thimme acknowledged that he had omitted certain documents of 1905 and 1911 out of consideration for the interest of German policy in 1928. The document of 1905 revealed the opposition of the German government to the inclusion of Austria in Germany in the event of the Hapsburg monarchy breaking up on the death of Francis Joseph—which would have been awkward in 1928 when the German government was promoting *Anschluss*. The documents for 1911 had to do with the role of Joseph Caillaux in the second Moroccan crisis, the reason being a reluctance to embarrass Caillaux if he returned to power in France. More recently it has come to light that the chapter in the *Grosse Politik* on the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 suppressed documents which revealed German policy in an unfavorable light and gave a tendentious summary, in a footnote, of an instruction sent by the Foreign Office on July 22, 1900, to the newly appointed German minister in Peking.⁷ With the aid of a catalogue recently published of the files for 1871–1914 which have been microfilmed,⁸ it is certainly possible to make a check of the *Grosse Politik* against the archives, and this should be done, at least for highly controversial subjects such as the "war scare" of 1875, the two Moroccan crises, and the annexation of Bosnia.⁹

⁷ Fritz Klein, "Über die Verfälschungen der historischen Wahrheit in der Aktenpublikation *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette*," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, VII (No. 2, 1959), 318–30. The Communist Chinese government presented the German legation in Peking to the East German Republic, which made it possible to examine the diplomatic files of the imperial regime. Klein prints the full text of the Foreign Office instruction.

⁸ *A Catalogue of Files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry Archives, 1867–1920* ([Washington, D. C.,] 1959).

⁹ The selection of documents for publication is not so easy as it may appear. When I served as United States editor in chief for *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945*, published by the British, French, and United States governments, I soon learned that the selection of documents for the main lines of German policy was comparatively easy, for they were to be found in the political files. The difficulties began with policies and activities on lower levels.

A second question is whether there is any cream left in studying the prewar years. In his recent volumes on the history of international relations, Pierre Renouvin has demonstrated effectively how diplomacy can be linked with politics and economics, both internal and external.¹⁰ Likewise the catalogue of the German Foreign Office films lists numerous papers concerning the economic foreign policy of the Empire, for example, the activities of the Mannessmann brothers in Morocco, about which the *Grosse Politik* is silent but which had a strong bearing on German policy in that country. It may therefore be said that there is much more than skimmed milk left in studying the diplomatic history of the years 1871-1914.

The *Grosse Politik* and the other collections have been available for many years and have been exploited by scholars of many lands. But after consulting a considerable number of books written in the 1930's or after 1945, I have come to the conclusion that there has been little change in traditional views. Although German writers find much to criticize in William II, Holstein, Bülow, and Bethmann Hollweg, they continue to blame Russia for the war of 1914. There is, however, some recognition of the fact that British hostility to Germany was not caused by commercial jealousy but by the building of the German fleet,¹¹ and one writer, who may be a Marxist, says: "Despite the common responsibility of the ruling classes of all imperialist Great Powers for the outbreak of the first world war, historical truth requires the recognition that the German militarists and imperialists took the

The teams (British, French, United States) working immediately with the files at Whaddon Hall, England (where the documents were located), made their selections from thousands of papers available and submitted them to the editors in chief, who discussed these selections with their staffs. It was not always easy for me and my colleagues to reach agreement, and sometimes Whaddon had to be asked for more documents. In the end, each editor in chief had to decide what documents to include in his list. The three lists were then exchanged, and the three editors in chief, either meeting together or by correspondence, worked diligently until they had selected documents on which all three could agree. Obviously there was room for differences of opinion, and I have no doubt that if the editors' choices, in the published volumes, are checked against the files, there will be criticism for including some documents and excluding others. One reviewer of the previously cited *Catalogue of Files and Microfilms* wants assurances that all the important files were filmed. Surely what is "important" is partly subjective, but after the triple distillation mentioned above, the editors can certainly claim to have worked as dispassionately as possible. I never knew of a document's being included or excluded because it reflected, either favorably or unfavorably, on an Allied government or even on the German government.

¹⁰ Pierre Renouvin, *Histoire des relations internationales* (Paris, 1954-58), V-VIII.

¹¹ Paul Rohrbach (one of the most ardent imperialists before 1914), *Um des Teufels Handschrift* (Hamburg, 1953), 184. Some years later Ludwig Dehio wrote: "Our naval armament was ultimately intended, from the very first, to achieve a great offensive aim . . . the expulsion of England from her position of supremacy. . . . In the last years before the war the liberal imperialists, and with them wide circles of the upper classes, were prepared to accept the risk of a European war rather than renounce the ultimate offensive on which they had set themselves at the turn of the century." *Germany and World Politics* (London, 1959), 78-84.

decisive initiative for the outbreak of the war in 1914."¹² Austrian writers uniformly hold Serbia responsible for the catastrophe of 1914; only the famous historian A. F. Pribram concedes that in the light of events "Austro-Hungarian policy was wrong."¹³

I do not find any French or British writer who admits even partial responsibility of his country for the war. The latest British historian to deal with the question, while critical of Sir Edward Grey for concealing from the cabinet the military conversations with France, insists that Grey gradually freed himself from the anti-German sentiment of the Foreign Office and was determined to be fair to Germany.¹⁴ I believe it was Voltaire who described history as *un faible convenu*, a tale agreed upon. That stage has not yet been reached regarding the origins of the First World War.¹⁵

Having started with 1914 and then moved backward to 1871, I now reverse my direction and turn to the war of 1914-1918. More than forty years after its close, there is still no adequate account of the diplomatic history of that struggle. The largest number of documents has been circulated by the Soviet government, but its publications have been directed mostly to the specific subjects of Constantinople and the Straits, the Balkans, and the secret treaties. Some documents for the period November 7, 1917-December 31, 1918, have recently been released.¹⁶ An official of the Quai d'Orsay has written an incomplete history of French policy during the war.¹⁷ The Italians have just begun to publish their papers. The British government not only keeps its archives closed, but maintains silence about many controversial matters. The wartime Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, was able, however, to use individual documents for his memoirs. After the United States entered the war, the story becomes clearer, for the American archives are now open. Fortunately the most important political files of the German Foreign Office have been microfilmed, and the films are available for research. Young scholars in search of a field to cultivate will find rich digging in the German files from 1914 to 1918.

Considering the controversies aroused by the peace treaties of 1919-1920,

¹² Paul Wandel, *Der deutsche Imperialismus und seine Kriege—das nationale Unglück Deutschlands* (Berlin, 1955), 22.

¹³ A. F. Pribram, *Austria-Hungary and Great Britain, 1908-1914* (London, 1951), 259.

¹⁴ M. R. D. Foot, *British Foreign Policy since 1898* (London, 1956), 34-48.

¹⁵ While the German documents were at Whaddon, the most secret files for the origins of the war of 1870 were discovered and filmed. They form the basis of an important book edited by Georges Bonnin (*Bismarck and the Hohenzollern Candidature for the Spanish Throne: The Documents in the German Diplomatic Archives* [London, 1957]), which answers some of the controversial questions about that war.

¹⁶ *Documents on the Foreign Policy of the USSR* [in Russian] (Moscow, 1959), I.

¹⁷ Albert Pingaud, *Histoire diplomatique de la France pendant la grande guerre* (3 vols., Paris, n.d. but in the 1930's).

it is astonishing that no adequate study of the Paris Peace Conference has been published. The most satisfactory book is one written by a German in 1933, by which time the diary of David Hunter Miller was available,¹⁸ but before the thirteen volumes of documents relating to the conference were released by the Department of State. Even the work of the directing body, the Big Four, lacks treatment, although its minutes have been available since 1946. Here again is a superb opportunity for a definitive work, and I understand that two scholars are applying themselves to the job. The Paris conference is memorable for having led to the publication of John Maynard Keynes's *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*,¹⁹ the repercussions of which were enormous and set the tone of both British and German diplomacy for years to come. Not until after the end of the Second World War was the Keynes thesis dispassionately examined in *The Carthaginian Peace: The Economic Consequences of Mr. Keynes* by Étienne Mantoux,²⁰ the son of Professor Paul Mantoux, the interpreter for the Big Four.

Diplomatic history from 1919 to 1939 was much easier for a contemporary to follow than that of the years before 1914 had been for me. The horrors and sufferings of the war, the contentious peace treaties, the impact of revolution in Central and Eastern Europe, and the general confusion of the times aroused public opinion in Western Europe and the United States to a greater realization of the importance of foreign policy than had been the case before the war. In Britain the Royal Institute of International Affairs was set up at Chatham House; in the United States the Council on Foreign Relations and the Foreign Policy Association were founded, all three with their organs of publication. It became fairly easy to acquire authoritative information about all parts of the world, all kinds of problems, and all fields of international relations. In due course the Royal Institute established an annual *Survey of International Affairs*, accompanied by a volume of pertinent *Documents*, and the Council on Foreign Relations has sponsored several publications, under different titles, on the foreign policy of the United States. Similar publications appeared in France and Italy. Such volumes were invaluable at the time, and are still useful to historians.

But however valuable they were, they were works of journalism, not of history, for the governments made few documents public. The narratives

¹⁸ Wilhelm Ziegler, *Versailles* (Hamburg, 1933). Paul Birdsall, *Versailles Twenty Years After* (New York, 1941), is a commentary on the treaty rather than a history of the peace conference.

¹⁹ John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (London, 1920).

²⁰ Étienne Mantoux, *The Carthaginian Peace: The Economic Consequences of Mr. Keynes* (Oxford, Eng., 1946).

were based on newspaper accounts, speeches of public men, and whatever information the compilers could assemble. In 1931 there occurred the so-called "Manchurian incident," that is, the attack of the Japanese army on the Chinese province of Manchuria, and the League of Nations was seized of the issue. The efforts of the League to deal with it and the abortive participation of the United States are described at length in the Chatham House *Survey* for 1931, chiefly from documents published by the League—an excellent account as far as it goes, but highly formalized and saying little about what went on behind the scenes. For the latter, we must turn to the *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* for 1931-1932 and to the *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, both published since the Second World War. A study of these volumes reveals how wide of the mark were the speculations of the time about the policies pursued by Britain and the United States.²¹ There is no substitute for documents, even if documents do not always tell the whole story! By the time the volume of the *Survey* for 1938 on "Munich" was ready, the second war had broken out, and publication was postponed. After the war, the volume could be rewritten from British, German, and United States documents, and something approaching diplomatic history could be undertaken (I say "something approaching diplomatic history" because French, Italian, Russian, and Czech materials were still lacking.²²)

Of *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, twenty-six volumes have been published to date. Italy is on the way with seven volumes. *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, a unique publication in that the files of a great power have been edited and published by its former enemies, will have nineteen volumes for the years from the accession of Hitler to Pearl Harbor, and the files for the period of the Weimar Republic are open to research. The principal United States papers from 1919 to 1939 have been published, and the files are open to 1937. For the years immediately preceding the war, these American papers are of great importance, for our ambassadors were as well informed as they had been ignorant in 1914. France has published nothing for these years, and during the German occupation many documents were destroyed. The Russians have remained silent until recently, when they published documents for the years 1919-1921.²³ But there is much Japanese material available to those who read the language. Twenty-five

²¹ The principal speculations concerned the questions whether Secretary Stimson wished to go further than President Hoover and whether Britain had let the United States down in declining to support the "Stimson Doctrine."

²² Some documents from the Russian and Czech archives are published in *New Documents on the History of Munich*, ed. V. F. Klochko *et al.* (Prague, 1958).

²³ *Documents on the Foreign Policy of the USSR* [in Russian] (Moscow, 1959-60), II-IV.

years hence historians may have discovered about the diplomatic history of 1919-1939 as much as or more than my generation did about the story of 1871-1914.

Two strange stories about the documents must be recounted. In 1931 Pierre Laval, President of the French Council of Ministers, visited Washington and conferred with United States officials, notably the President and the Secretary of State. But the compilers of *Foreign Relations* found no minutes of these conversations and could print only a short memorandum by Secretary Stimson of a conversation with the British ambassador about the visit.²⁴ The ambassador's report is a much longer and more detailed document.²⁵ After his return to Paris, furthermore, Laval talked at length to the British ambassador.²⁶ And so we learn more from British documents than from our own. The reverse is also true. On September 26, 1938, Neville Chamberlain, then British Prime Minister, wrote a "short manuscript" letter to Adolf Hitler which was handed to the German chancellor by Sir Horace Wilson, who had been sent to Berlin by Chamberlain.²⁷ The *Documents on British Foreign Policy* do not contain this letter. But Édouard Daladier, President of the French Council, mentioned it to William C. Bullitt, the American ambassador in Paris, as a "handwritten letter" and finally showed it to Bullitt, who telegraphed its substance to Washington.²⁸ In this letter Chamberlain is reported to have told Hitler that "if German troops should cross the frontier of Czechoslovakia the French army would attack Germany at once . . . in case this should occur Great Britain would enter the war at once on the side of France with all her forces." No wonder Daladier asked that "the existence of this note should be kept as a complete secret."

Press reports of the crisis of August 1939 were much better than in 1914. The crisis had been building up for months and did not come as a bolt from the blue. Newspapers were more alert and had better sources of information. If no one was able to find out exactly what was said at Salzburg early in August when Ciano, the Italian Foreign Minister, conferred with Ribbentrop and Hitler, the London *Times* guessed that "something was in the air," and the New York *Times* understood that German action against Poland was only a matter of days. The latter subsequently reported that action was set

²⁴ *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1931* (3 vols., Washington, D. C., 1946), II, 254.

²⁵ *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, ed. E. L. Woodward and Rohan Butler (London, 1947), 2d ser., II, No. 280.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 288.

²⁷ *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, ed. E. L. Woodward and Rohan Butler (London, 1949), 3d ser., II, No. 1118.

²⁸ *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1938* (5 vols., Washington, D. C., 1955), II, 668.

for August 24, which was the original German plan. Both papers learned that Germany was demanding from Poland not only Danzig but also what the Germans called the "corridor." The London *Times* knew something about the negotiations for an Anglo-French alliance with the Soviet Union, but was vague about the Russian objections; the New York *Times*, which incorrectly heard that Poland was ready to accept Russian help, consistently reported that the Polish Foreign Minister, Józef Beck, did not expect the German pressure to eventuate in war. Grasping at straws, both papers printed some reports from Berlin that Germany might moderate its demands, but they learned enough about the conversations between Hitler and Sir Neville Henderson, the British ambassador in Berlin, to dispel any hope. Actually, there were far fewer exchanges between the governments than in 1914, for whereas in 1914 military decisions were made only after a week of negotiations, in 1939 Germany had already decided to attack Poland, and the only result of the Anglo-German negotiations was to postpone the attack until September 1. The newspapers learned nothing about the negotiations for a German-Soviet pact of nonaggression until the official announcement was made.

As in 1914, the German and British governments issued White Papers, first with a minimum of documents, later in more extensive editions containing reports on Poland. The Germans claimed that the Poles were guilty of atrocities; the British showed that they had done their best to restrain the Poles and to induce German negotiations with them. These German publications fell rather flat, for outside Germany that country's responsibility was universally recognized. The complete British correspondence, published after the war, showed that the papers released in 1939 had not been tampered with. On the other hand, the papers included in *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, published by the Allied governments, revealed that the large German White Book of 1939 had been much "edited" to build a case against Poland. As in 1914, the French Yellow Book was much delayed and included documents of the previous year, and the Italian government issued no Green Book. No documents were released by any government concerning the German-Soviet negotiations or the Anglo-French-Russian negotiations.

For the diplomatic history of the Second World War, the films of the German Foreign Office down to 1945 are being made available as fast as possible, and there are Japanese materials in the Library of Congress. The Italian documents will extend only to the fall of Mussolini in July 1943. From the Russian side only two volumes of correspondence between Stalin on the one hand and Sir Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt on the other have ap-

peared. From Britain and France as yet only silence. At the moment *Foreign Relations of the United States* has barely gone beyond Pearl Harbor. "It's a long, long road to Tipperary," that is, to a proper diplomatic history of the Second World War.

It is always necessary to remember that diplomatic documents seldom tell the whole story. The more recent volumes of diplomatic correspondence fortunately contain an increasing number of private letters. Hitler's military directives have been included in *Documents on German Foreign Policy*. *I documenti diplomatici italiani* goes further than any other collection in including papers not strictly diplomatic and covers a longer period, 1861-1943.

Memoirs, autobiographies, and biographies can be of the utmost value, or completely worthless, with every gradation in between. When the memoirs of Baron von Eckardstein, counselor of the German embassy in London at the turn of the century, appeared in 1920, they created a tremendous sensation, for they told the story, hitherto unknown, of the negotiations of 1898 and 1901 for an Anglo-German alliance. When they were checked against German and British documents, however, they were found to be full of mistakes, some apparently deliberate. The numerous volumes of memoirs by David Lloyd George and Raymond Poincaré are a main source of our knowledge of British and French diplomacy during the First World War, but it is not possible to check them against the archives. The memoirs of Prince von Bülow, German chancellor from 1900 to 1909, are notoriously unreliable. After Germany's defeat in 1918, Bülow enjoyed a certain *réclame* as the man who might have prevented the war in 1914 or have brought about a compromise if he had been recalled to power in 1917. When his memoirs were published posthumously, they were said to have evoked from William II the remark that Bülow was the only man known to history who had committed suicide after his death. They were promptly attacked from all sides, and twenty-four distinguished and qualified Germans united in publishing a devastating critique.²⁹ In spite of innumerable inaccuracies and misrepresentations, they nevertheless provide a vivid picture of Wilhelmine Germany, and occasionally throw a lurid light on German policy. Thus Bülow stated that in 1905 he "did not hesitate to confront France with the question of war," trusting to his "skill and strength not to let things come to the worst"—"brinkmanship" fifty years in advance. And while he boasted of his sharp performance in ending the crisis over the annexation of Bosnia, he advised the Emperor not to repeat it.

Even with full documentation and reliable memoirs or biographies, it is

²⁹ *Front wider Bülow*, ed. Friedrich Thimme (Berlin, 1931).

seldom easy to write satisfactory diplomatic history. The English historian H. A. L. Fisher, who served as Minister of Education from 1916 to 1922, contended that historians could do better work if they had held public office. Certainly during the seven years that I served in the Department of State, I learned much about the operation of a foreign office. In *Foreign Relations of the United States* one can read the instructions sent to ambassadors and ministers abroad, but not always does one find the reasons for these directives. Sometimes the reasons are set forth in memoranda which are not published but can be found in the archives. This is, however, not always the case. Much work of this nature is accomplished by informal conferences or by telephone conversations of which no record is kept. When one is in the Department, one discovers that some things are not done, that others are imperative, that individuals have prejudices which have to be taken into account. The volume of papers by the late Pierrepont Moffat gave an admirable picture of the ways in which policy was formulated in his day.³⁰ The Department has at all times to keep its ear cocked toward "the Hill," for it depends on Congress for its funds. If the Department offends Congress, a cut in appropriations may follow. Congress does not make American foreign policy, but it influences that policy profoundly, and the historian of policy cannot ignore this.

The Department of State may be ignored or bypassed by the White House. Cordell Hull stated in his memoirs that he favored the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States, but he would have made this dependent on a number of conditions.³¹ Ten years later, the tradition in the Department, as passed on to me, was that he was really against it. The unpublished documents in the departmental files leave no doubt that many officials were opposed to recognition. Other cases might be mentioned in which the White House took an opposite course from that recommended by the Department. This is not peculiar to the Department of State, for examples can easily be cited from British and French diplomatic history, but it is a circumstance that historians must always remember.

On occasion the President has carried on negotiations of which the Department of State was left in ignorance; examples can be cited from Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, and it is a matter of chance whether the incident gets into the record.³² This too is not unique, for Hitler, being

³⁰ *The Moffat Papers: Selections from the Diplomatic Journals of Jay Pierrepont Moffat, 1919-1943*, ed. N. H. Hooker (Cambridge, Mass., 1956).

³¹ Cordell Hull, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (2 vols., New York, 1948), I, 297.

³² In 1918 Wilson carried on secret negotiations with the Emperor Charles through the medium of the king of Spain. The correspondence was intercepted by the British intelligence service—and communicated to the Department of State, which apparently knew nothing about it.

distrustful of professional diplomatists, frequently ignored the German Foreign Office, which might have heard of his action only much later.

In the case of British policy, the British documents on the origins of the First World War were frequently accompanied by "minutes" written by Foreign Office officials, minutes which often explain subsequent action. Such minutes were not published with the documents on British policy between the two wars. From the documents it is often evident that the decisions were made, not by the Foreign Office, but by the cabinet. Since the minutes of the cabinet (there were no minutes kept before 1916) remain secret, the historian is often reduced to guessing what were the reasons for action.

As a historian, I do not complain that there are lacunae in the evidence. Part of the fun of writing a book on diplomatic history is becoming aware of the gaps and the questions and then trying to close the gaps and find the answers. Diplomatic history can be awfully dull, especially if the complete record is spread out before you.

Sir Winston Churchill has described our age as the "terrible twentieth century," and the *New Cambridge Modern History* entitles its volume for 1898-1945 *The Era of Violence*, words justified by two world wars, the Korean War, Communist revolutions in Russia and China, and lesser disturbances elsewhere. Having been immersed in diplomatic history for half a century, I ask myself how far poor diplomacy has contributed to these violent upheavals, although in passing I may note that Africa was partitioned among the great powers without recourse to war and that in 1912-1913 the same powers kept the peace between themselves while the Balkan States were expelling the Ottoman Empire from Europe.

With the perspective that is now possible, it is clear that German diplomacy in the years before 1914 was singularly maladroit. It was at this time that Germans were vociferously demanding "a place in the sun" for their country, and the German government undoubtedly wished to attain it. But neither agitators nor government succeeded in formulating a precise program which commanded general assent and behind which government and people could rally. To some Britain seemed the principal opponent of German expansion, for others France played that role. Some dreamed of expansion in Africa, others preferred the Near East. Like one of Stephen Leacock's heroes, the government rode off brilliantly in all directions, challenging now Britain, now France, now Russia, with the result that those countries, feeling themselves threatened, joined in a Triple Entente which the Germans denounced as "encirclement." Clever diplomacy would have de-

cided where Germany's vital interests lay—east or west—but the Germany of William II acted as if it believed that it was strong enough to challenge the rest of Europe. In contrast to this bravado, Britain, which was more powerful than Germany, decided that it was not strong enough to continue the policy of isolation, or the free hand, which it had affected for many years, and began to seek friends. By 1914, as the result of its miscalculations, Germany felt that it had only one reliable ally, Austria-Hungary, which was also a ramshackle ally. The German government's decision in July 1914 to support Austria's policy of war against Serbia, disastrous though it proved to be, was, so to speak, a last minute choice between east and west. But inasmuch as this involved trying to revive, or even to preserve, a moribund state, the action was a confession of bankruptcy. The slipperiness of Bülow, chancellor from 1900 to 1909, the incompetence of Bethmann Hollweg, his successor, and the impulsiveness of William II brought Germany down from the heights of 1901, when it was offered an alliance by Britain and was on excellent terms with Russia, to a position from which it sought to escape by deliberately accepting the risk of a general European war.³³

Ignoring many controversial aspects of the negotiations of July 1914, it must be observed that the most vital decisions were taken without proper consideration. On July 5 the German Emperor pledged his support to the Emperor Francis Joseph without consulting his chancellor or his military advisers, merely "telling them" what he had done and leaving them to face the consequences. On July 25 the Austrian minister in Belgrade broke off diplomatic relations with Serbia after a most cursory glance at the Serbian reply to the Austrian ultimatum, a reply subsequently recognized by the German Emperor and the German chancellor as being in large measure an acceptance of the Austrian demands. On July 30 the highest officials of the Russian government pressed the Czar to order mobilization on the strength of a single report that Belgrade was being bombarded. Less precipitate diplomatic action in each case was surely called for.

The efforts made by the Russian and British governments to secure a diplomatic compromise of the Austro-Serbian dispute probably had little chance of success, for Austria was bent on war and Germany was pledged to go along. But the proposals of St. Petersburg and London were so improvised and so frequent that before one proposal could be circulated and

³³ "Mit einem Wort: es haben in Deutschland die wahrhaft zeitgemässen Staatsmänner gefehlt, die eine den deutschen Gegebenheiten, Notwendigkeiten, aber auch Gefahren adäquate, konsequent geplante, bis ins letzte durchdachte Weltpolitik trieben, die vielleicht auch jene 'Objektivitäten' im Frieden zu meistern gewusst hätten." Werner Fraundienst, "Deutsche Weltpolitik zur Problematik des Wilhelmschen Reichs," *Die Welt als Geschichte*, XIX (No. 1, 1959), 38.

digested, it was superseded by another. In consequence, it was difficult at any given moment to say what the precise situation was, and this certainly helped the military to press for action. Finally, the uncertainty about the attitude of Britain was a great calamity. Almost to the end of the crisis, Germany gambled on British neutrality, while Russia and France gambled on British help. Britain, unfortunately, did not know what it was going to do until Germany invaded Belgium.

During the war years Germany made two blunders of the first magnitude. By establishing a kingdom of Poland out of territory conquered from Russia, it threw away the possibility of a separate peace with Russia, a peace which the German chancellor looked upon as the only salvation for his country and which the Russian government was perhaps—the evidence is meager and inconclusive—ready to consider as an alternative to revolution. Second, the German government gave President Wilson to understand that it looked to him to bring about peace negotiations with its enemies and that its terms would be moderate. But, instead of waiting for him to act, it made a direct and futile offer, and when it did finally communicate its terms, they turned out to be anything but moderate. Wilson deeply resented Germany's conduct and was even more furious when a little later it revoked its promise concerning submarine warfare.

On the side of the Allies, the "secret treaties" dividing the spoils of war have been generally condemned because their provisions conflicted with the professions of disinterestedness which the Allies had made. The treaties with Italy and Rumania were born of desperate military need, the hope being that the fresh Italian and Rumanian armies would turn the tide into victory. Not only were these hopes unfulfilled, but the Serbs learned almost immediately that Dalmatia had been promised to Italy and called off their attack on Austria at a moment when it would have been of great help to the Russians. In the final settlements, the secret treaties, including those concerning the Ottoman Empire, were either much modified or abandoned.

Both sides blundered badly in their handling of the Russian revolutions. The Allies failed to comprehend that the upheaval of March 1917, which deposed the Czar, was produced by war weariness. The people wished to stop fighting and have peace. At the time, the Allies were so hard pressed that they could hardly have been expected to accept demands that would take the Russian armies out of the war. By refusing to restate the aims for which they were fighting, however, they played into the hands of the Bolsheviks, and by insisting that the Russian army go on fighting, they deprived the provisional government of the few remaining reliable troops that might have

suppressed the Bolshevik revolution. Their intervention in the Russian civil war was an even greater blunder, for not only did it fail to produce results, but it was never forgotten by the Soviet government, which even now cites it as proof of the evil designs of the West against the Communist regime.

The Germans were equally shortsighted. First, they sent Lenin in a sealed train across Germany to Sweden and made it possible for him to organize the Communist revolution. Then they imposed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which proved that they were as avaricious as the Allies said they were. Next, by resuming diplomatic relations with Russia, they admitted a Bolshevik ambassador who spent most of his time propagandizing for Communism. Lastly, because they knew that no other Russian government would recognize the terms of Brest-Litovsk, they decided not to overthrow the Bolshevik regime after the murder of the German ambassador in August 1918.

Woodrow Wilson's performance in October 1918, when he compelled Germany to surrender on his terms and then induced the Allies to accept his Fourteen Points with two reservations, is without parallel in the history of diplomacy. He was negotiating from a position of strength; nevertheless, the skill with which he drove the German government from one position to another position ranks him with the masters of diplomacy. It is not easy to explain why, after this triumph, Wilson began to make mistakes. Whether he was wise to attend the Peace Conference has been debated. Probably his first visit, during which the Covenant of the League of Nations was drafted and the general principles of the peace treaties were laid down, was useful. But the second visit, during which he sat merely as an equal in the meetings of the Big Four, was unfortunate. He would probably have accomplished more by staying in Washington and thundering from that Olympus against any departure from the Fourteen Points. He might also have found time to mend his political fences in Congress. While Wilson's struggle with the Senate over the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations is still controversial, the view most frequently expressed at the time of the Wilson centennial a few years ago was that the President should have made some kind of compromise. I did not think so in 1919-1920, but I now agree. How far Wilson's attitude was affected by physical and nervous weariness remains an open question.

Concerning "open covenants openly arrived at," Wilson certainly did not intend to exclude secret negotiations whatever the popular impressions may have been. He meant that when an agreement had been reached, the fact

should become known and the terms published. There were no secret articles in the peace treaties of 1919-1920, and that was also generally true of the various treaties drawn up between 1919 and 1939, except for the details of military conventions between France and its allies in Eastern Europe. The two serious exceptions were the secret clauses of the Franco-Italian agreement of January 1935 concerning Ethiopia and the Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936; in each case the existence of secret articles was widely suspected. The requirement of the Covenant of the League of Nations that treaties must be registered to be valid was fairly effective, for failure to register a treaty would greatly reduce its validity. Wilson's precept was more generally followed than is usually recognized.

Whether the peace treaties of 1919-1920 seriously violated the Fourteen Points or were unfair to the extent often alleged is too large a question to be discussed here. The Allies, by refusing oral discussions with their late enemies, enabled the latter to speak of the "dictated" peace and must be charged with a psychological blunder.³⁴ The terms of the treaties were certainly severe, and if they were to be enforced, continued Allied unity was essential. But the Allies fell out, as often happens to the victors after a war. Besides United States refusal to ratify the treaty, Britain and France were soon disagreeing about its meaning and the problem of enforcement. The Parliament upon which the British government depended had in 1919 protested against treating Germany leniently, and it lasted until 1923. But public opinion, as distinct from the Foreign Office, probably in consequence of Keynes's book, showed increasing unwillingness to support France in enforcing the treaty, and the chameleon Lloyd George acted accordingly. From a diplomatic point of view, this disagreement between Britain and France was disastrous, for it gave the Germans a chance to play one against the other, and they made the most of it. The foreign ministers of the Weimar regime showed much greater skill in defeat than their predecessors exhibited in the days of German power before 1914. Not only did they keep their opponents divided, but they managed to win considerable sympathy and support for Germany throughout the world. By 1925 Germany had become so respectable that by the Treaty of Locarno it was readmitted to international society on the basis of practical equality, while the United States, by means of private loans, lent Germany enough money for it to go through the motion of paying reparations on a substantial scale. Diplomacy never seemed to justify itself so well as from 1925 to 1930, when Europe was supposed to "have turned the corner."

³⁴ The original copies of the Treaty of Versailles—the Allied copy preserved in the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the German copy—have now disappeared.

The twenties were the years of the much-touted "diplomacy by conference," Lloyd George's contribution to the conduct of international relations. On innumerable occasions the Allied governments met to thrash out the differences between them, and from time to time they met the Germans, or even the Russians, as at Genoa in 1922, for the same purposes. These conferences were very time consuming, as one can see by reading the minutes published in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, but it is doubtful if just as satisfactory results, or unsatisfactory results, would not have been achieved by the routine methods of diplomatic correspondence. The minutes reveal the extraordinary versatility of Lloyd George and his habit of sometimes overriding the views of Lord Curzon, his Foreign Secretary. But after the fall of Lloyd George in 1922, conferences became less frequent. Since their original purpose had been chiefly to bring about the payment of reparations by Germany, it was somewhat ironical that the Lausanne Conference of 1932 in substance agreed to abolish reparations.

Diplomacy reached its nadir in the thirties. In 1931 Japan seized Manchuria, and the League of Nations was unable to do more than secure the appointment of the Lytton Commission. What the League might have done if the United States had promised its support will never be known, but our adoption of the Stimson Doctrine, by which we refused to recognize conquests made by force, was a futile gesture which did not deter Japan.

In 1931 Sir John Simon became British Foreign Secretary. Hitherto, in spite of many difficulties and disagreements, the British and French governments had to a considerable degree maintained a common front, but under Simon the thirty-year-old *Entente Cordiale* almost ceased to exist, as was revealed by the Anglo-German naval convention of 1935 made behind the back of France. When Italy's determination to seize Ethiopia became evident, the French government made a secret agreement with Mussolini giving him a free hand. Although the British government disapproved of this, it did not make its opposition known to Mussolini, who plunged ahead. Then the League of Nations, under British inspiration, tried to stop him, but because of Anglo-French divergences, did so only halfheartedly. It imposed sanctions which aroused Mussolini's indignation but which were not stringent enough to stop him. While the British sent their fleet to the Mediterranean, it became evident that they would not use it. Out of the impasse came the Hoare-Laval plan, a last effort to appease Mussolini, a deal so shocking that it caused the fall of both ministers. Diplomacy was shown at its worst, not only because of the lack of principle displayed but also because it helped convince Hitler that the Western powers were incapable of ener-

getic action. How right he was was proved in 1936 when he sent his troops into the demilitarized Rhineland. Although this was a clear violation of both Locarno and Versailles, the British explained it away and the French refused to mobilize because it would cost five billion francs.

It must be recognized, in fairness, that at this time the people in France and Britain did not want war and were for peace at almost any price. In England, Liberals and Labourites put their trust in the League of Nations and advocated sanctions, but strongly opposed the rearmament of Britain which alone would have made British diplomacy effective. There was also much distrust of the Soviet Union, even after it joined the League in 1934. And so when Germany began to rearm in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles, Britain and France lacked both the will and the means to call a halt. The paralysis of Anglo-French diplomacy was revealed by its inability to prevent the intervention of Italy and Germany in the Spanish Civil War. It might have been expected that Britain and France, being democracies, would sympathize with the legally elected republican government of Spain in its resistance to General Franco, but dominant public opinion in both countries was determined to avoid any course that might involve the risk of war.

A further misfortune occurred when Neville Chamberlain became British Prime Minister in 1937. He inherited a bad situation, for his predecessor Stanley Baldwin had failed to warn the British people of the dangerous predicament into which they had been allowed to fall. Unfortunately Chamberlain compounded this folly by believing that through personal contacts with Hitler and Mussolini he could do business with them. Largely ignoring the Foreign Office, he chose as his principal adviser a civil servant with no diplomatic experience. In September 1938, as the German-Czech crisis came to a head, Chamberlain visited Hitler at Berchtesgaden, where, to the surprise of the latter, he accepted the German terms for the partition of Czechoslovakia. It is not to be wondered at that when the two men met a second time at Godesberg, Hitler raised his terms. If Chamberlain, with the assistance of Mussolini, was able to prevent a German invasion of Bohemia, it was a pyrrhic victory: Hitler resented being deprived of his war, and Anglo-German relations soon began to deteriorate. Chamberlain's amateur technique provided Britain with the greatest diplomatic defeat in its history. It is said that German opposition to Hitler, chiefly military, was planning to depose him rather than face the risk of war with Britain and France. They gave up in disgust, however, when they heard of Chamberlain's visit. Chamberlain is also credited with excluding the Soviet Union from negotiations at Munich. This was resented by the Russians and was a reason for the

distrust shown by Russia in subsequent negotiations for an Anglo-French-Soviet alliance.³⁵

During this decade the United States Congress passed legislation designed to place the sale of munitions to foreign powers in wartime on a "cash and carry" basis. This was the result of a "phony" agitation that munitions makers had maneuvered the United States into war in 1917 and that they had been abetted by unscrupulous British propaganda. Both the White House and the Department of State were opposed to this legislation, but they were helpless. The effect was doubly unfortunate: not only was the United States deprived of a legitimate weapon in the conduct of foreign policy, but it was written off as a factor in international affairs by Germany, Italy, and Japan. It is not for Americans, who were unwilling to do anything about Manchuria, Ethiopia, or Spain, to be too critical of the British and the French if they practiced appeasement.

And so we come to the crisis of August 1939. Remembering how the British government of 1914 had been criticized for not making its position clear at the beginning of the crisis, Chamberlain in his first letter to Hitler stated clearly that if Germany attacked Poland, Britain would go to the aid of that country.³⁶ But Hitler was not impressed by this declaration, for the Britain of 1939 was, in terms of power, not the Britain of 1914. With the evidence before us, it now seems clear that Hitler might have been stopped, but only by a firm Anglo-French-Soviet alliance. If Chamberlain really desired such an alliance (which is doubtful), he made the mistake of sending an official of the Foreign Office instead of a minister of high rank to Moscow to conduct the negotiations. This contributed to Soviet suspicions of British sincerity. When the Soviet government also learned that Britain was ready to put a far smaller army into the field than in 1914, it lost interest. If Russia was to participate in war against Germany, it must be able to send troops into Poland. This being rejected by Poland, and therefore by Britain, there was no apparent possibility of agreement. In the complete ab-

³⁵ What British professional diplomacy could do when left alone was revealed in the Far East, where the Japanese were being very troublesome in China. Although they had no fleet at their disposal, the British ambassador in China managed to remain on the good side of Chiang Kai-shek, while his colleague in Tokyo, by endless talking and protesting, kept the Japanese from seizing the British concession at Tientsin until the Nazi-Soviet pact of non-aggression upset all Japanese calculations and led them to settle the Tientsin difficulty on a reasonable basis. The long record reproduced in *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, ed. E. L. Woodward and Rohan Butler (London, 1955), 3d ser., VIII-IX, should be required reading for all fledgling diplomats.

³⁶ The British unilateral promise given to Poland in April 1939 and confirmed by the Anglo-Polish alliance signed in August was, from a practical point of view, futile, for Britain had no way of helping Poland resist Germany, and the action was sharply criticized at the time. It was another example of Chamberlain's amateur diplomacy.

sence of Russian documents, speculation about the Soviet motives is dangerous, and I shall not risk it. In any case, the Soviet government did accept the German offer of a pact of nonaggression, and the last obstacle to Hitler's war against Poland was removed. Thus the Soviet government gained nearly two years in which to prepare for that German attack which, if Hitler's own words were to be believed, was inevitable. Whether the Soviet bargain with Germany was wise is certainly open to argument.

In the war of 1914-1918 there were seven original belligerents: Austria-Hungary and Germany on one side; Serbia, Montenegro, Russia, France, and Britain on the other. Germany invaded Luxembourg and Belgium; Japan entered the war partly because of its alliance with Britain. Turkey, Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Greece were brought in as a result of diplomatic activity. The United States, after long hesitation, joined to defend its interests.

In the war of 1939-1945 diplomacy was less effective. It began as a German war against Poland, Britain, and France. Italy joined at the moment when Germany seemed to have won, and Mussolini wished to be on hand for the distribution of the spoils. Russia attacked Finland. Germany invaded Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg. Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania were forced in by German military and economic pressure. Greece was attacked by Italy, and Yugoslavia by Germany. There was nothing like the bargaining that went on from 1914 to 1916. In 1941 Germany attacked the Soviet Union, and Japan assaulted the United States. Thanks to almost incredible diplomacy, Spain and Sweden were able to resist German pressure, and Turkey maintained its neutrality against both sides.

During the first war Germany tried several times to obtain a separate peace with Russia; there were rumors of similar attempts in the second war, but they have not been verified. In December 1916 the Central Powers proposed peace negotiations, but nothing came of them. There were no such suggestions in the second war.

In spite of an Anglo-Soviet alliance made in 1942, both Britain and the United States refused to recognize Russia's forcible absorption of the Baltic States. Not all the efforts of British and American diplomacy were able to overcome the suspiciousness of the Soviet government so well revealed in General John R. Deane's book *The Strange Alliance*. The Western powers have been severely criticized for not having Russia sign an agreement to restore the frontiers of Poland and to respect the independence of the Eastern European states. Had this been diplomatically feasible—which I very much doubt—who could guarantee that the Soviet government would have re-

spected it? Churchill and Roosevelt have also been denounced for the Yalta agreement, which brought Russia into the Far Eastern war, at the possible expense of China. Since they wanted Russia's entry into the war, they had to pay Stalin's price. It can be argued that by their agreement they hoped to tie the Soviets down to the precise points mentioned. The enigmatic attitude of the Soviet government toward peace feelers from Japan before the first atomic bomb was dropped was, however, not a hopeful sign of future cooperation. If Anglo-American diplomacy was not completely successful in dealing with the Soviet Union, historians will remember that this is characteristic of coalitions.

The agreement to insist on Germany's "unconditional surrender" has also been criticized on the ground that it prolonged unnecessarily the resistance of Germany. I am not convinced of this. It must be remembered that in 1918 Germany surrendered on condition that peace would be based on Wilson's Fourteen Points. The Germans later complained that the Fourteen Points had been ignored in the Treaty of Versailles. "Unconditional surrender" guaranteed that the Allies would not have to meet that reproach a second time.

Could diplomacy have averted the wars and revolutions of our time? It is possible that if Germany had not been so precipitate in promising help to Austria in July 1914 or if Britain had declared itself at the beginning of the crisis, war in that summer might have been avoided. But the demand for war against Serbia did not originate in 1914; it had been considered for years. If war had not come in 1914, what would have happened on the death of Francis Joseph in 1916? Russian, French, and German foreign offices had long been concerned about this eventuality, but we do not know that they had reached any agreement as to what should be done if the Dual Monarchy disintegrated. War might have been precipitated then, for Austria-Hungary was a sensitive area where large numbers of minorities were kept in unhappy subjection to existing governments. Clever diplomacy was not needed to prevent an explosion as much as far-reaching internal reforms, of which there seemed little prospect.

By 1939 the situation was more explosive than in 1914. Hitler and Mussolini were determined to "revise" the treaties, and Japan was equally determined to take what it wanted from China. The only way to stop these aggressors was by the manifestation of superior force, rather than by diplomacy. Neither France nor Britain, however, was willing to build up the necessary force in Europe, any more than the United States was in the Pacific. War may have been avoidable in 1914, but not in 1939.

In 1960 we are better informed about the diplomacy of the years since 1945 than people in 1914 were about the events of the preceding fifteen years. A few comparisons can end this address. Between 1901 and 1914 there were five international crises: that between Russia and Japan over Manchuria and Korea, which culminated in war; those between France and Germany over Morocco, in both of which Germany considered the possibility of war but accepted a compromise; that between Austria and Russia over Bosnia, in which Russia did not feel strong enough for war, especially as it could not get assurance of help from Britain and France; and that between the Balkan States and Turkey, in which the powers allowed the war to proceed without too much interference and compromised their own differences. It was this diplomatic achievement which encouraged the view that war between great powers was out of the question because it would be too horrible and too expensive.

Since 1945 we have experienced six crises: two over Berlin, the second of which is still with us; two in Asia, one involving Korea, the other Indochina, in both of which force was used; two in Africa, the war between Israel and the Arab states and the Anglo-French attack on Egypt. Diplomacy was more successful in avoiding war before 1914 than it has been since 1945, in spite of the fact that the United States, until recently and perhaps still the strongest military power in the world, has worked zealously for peace. The explanation of this paradox is a matter of controversy, into which I shall not plunge. But there is one encouraging sign. In 1914 and again in 1939 no power hesitated to go to war. In 1960 both the United States and the Soviet Union have publicly proclaimed their abhorrence of war and insist that they are working for peace. The Russian leader, confident that capitalism is doomed, predicts that our grandchildren will be living under socialism; the free world is not willing to admit this and hopes that somehow the Russian satellites will recover their freedom. The historian, recalling Oxenstierna's famous quip, "With how little wisdom is the world governed," will pray that more wisdom will be exhibited in the next fifty years than in the last fifty.

China's History in Marxian Dress

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ONE of the promised, though as yet unrealized, fruits of the great bustle of historiographical activity in the People's Republic of China will be a new general history of China—a *Chung-kuo t'ung-shih*. *T'ung-shih*, today the common term for "general history," is a particularly appropriate designation for the kind of product we may eventually expect from the Chinese Communist historians. In the past it was used by historiographers specifically to distinguish those writings which encompassed the events of more than one dynasty, as distinct from *tuan-tai-shih* which restricted themselves to a single dynastic period.¹ Now it implies the comprehensive rewriting of all Chinese history. Although the Chinese Communists are devoting their main energies to fitting China's modern history into Marxist-Leninist-Maoist dress, it is essential to keep in mind this larger context of historical revisionism within which modern history, while increasingly emphasized, is only a part.

The key to understanding China's history in Marxian dress lies in what I shall call the problem of meaninglessness. Joseph Levenson has pointed out that although modern Chinese intellectuals—this includes the Communist historians—as *intellectuals* have rejected their Confucian heritage, as *Chinese* this has not been a painless amputation.² They have not easily accepted the fact that the intellectual influences, including Marxism, which have replaced the values of the past, are preponderantly Western. Even for the men of the "New China" the cultural tug of the past demands the apotheosis of some Chinese equivalent to fill the void left by the rejected Confucian-literati tradition. Hence the effort, which I shall describe, to substitute a new past for the old, centering on the peasant revolts, urban commercial developments, and popular literature which had always before been only a substratum in the sweep of Chinese history. But the deliberate creation of a new, popular,

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¹ See Chin Yü-fu, *Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh shih* [History of Chinese Historiography] (Shanghai, 1957, originally pub. 1941), 160-62.

² Joseph R. Levenson, "The Past Made to Measure: History under Chairman Mao," *Soviet Survey* (Apr.-June 1958), 32-37; see also his *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate* (Berkeley, Calif., 1958).

Marxist tradition has apparently aggravated rather than ameliorated the problem of finding meaning in the past. As a consequence, the mainland historians are paradoxically being forced to resurrect and incorporate, with some changes of course, portions of the heritage that the May Fourth generation had discarded.³

We can examine this process from two directions, by looking in turn at the substance of Chinese Communist historiography, and at the policy (or "line") that has guided historical research in the People's Republic of China. In what follows I shall consider first five substantive problems to which the mainland historians have turned most assiduously in their efforts to rewrite their history: the interpretation of peasant rebellions, the controversy over the origins of capitalism, "the formation of the Han nation," the place of "imperialism" in modern Chinese history, and the periodization of China's past.

The Chinese Communists in power were motivated by more than the iconoclasm of the May Fourth movement in their antipathy to the Confucian-literati tradition. Their aim was to break specifically with what they called the "feudal" past which they identified with their Kuomintang enemy. Ancient China during the Warring States period (480–222 B.C.), the age of the philosophers, perhaps had its "immortal character." But "then came the protracted stagnation of the feudal system which lasted for more than two thousand years, and during which thought, literature, and art could not break free from the patterns and rules set by the various schools of thought, particularly the Confucian school, of the Warring States era."⁴ To the Com-

³ In what follows I shall be referring continually to some of the more prominent historians in the People's Republic of China, who should be introduced briefly here: Chien Po-tsan, professor of history at Peking University and member of the Standing Committee of the Department of Philosophy and Social Science of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, studied for a year and a half at the University of California in the 1920's, and before 1949 published several works including *Chung-kuo shih kang* [An Outline of Chinese History] (2 vols., Chungking, 1943, 1944), which covers the period from prehistory through the Han. Kuo Mo-jo, president of the Academy of Sciences, is best known as a scholar for his work on ancient history, especially for his studies of bronze inscriptions. His principal works include *Chung-kuo ku-tai she-hui yen-chiu* [A Study of Ancient Chinese Society] (Shanghai, 1930) and *Shih p'i-p'an shu* [Ten Critiques] (Chungking, 1945). Fan Wen-lan is now the director of the Third Office (modern history) of the Institute of Historical Research. He began his career as a scholar of the Chinese classics, but later turned to modern history and in Yenan in 1945 completed the first volume of his *Chung-kuo chin-tai shih* [Modern History of China], which after revision was published in 1951. Pai Shou-yi has written a history of communications in China, *Chung-kuo chiao-t'ung shih* (Shanghai, 1937), and has also studied the history of the Moslem minority peoples. Hou Wai-lu is a specialist on the history of thought and with others has written *Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang t'ung-shih* [A History of Chinese Thought] (Shanghai, 1949, rev. ed., Peking, 1957). Since the 1930's Lü Chen-yü has been a leading Marxist writer on social history. Among his works are *Shih-ch'ien-ch'i Chung-kuo she-hui yen-chiu* [A Study of China's Prehistoric Society] (Peking, 1934), *Yin Chou shih-tai ti Chung-kuo she-hui* [Chinese Society in the Yin and Chou Periods] (Shanghai, 1936), and *Chung-kuo she-hui-shih chu wen-t'i* [Problems of Chinese Social History] (Shanghai, 1940).

⁴ See Kuo Mo-jo, "Kuan-yü hou-chin po-ku wen-t'i" [On Emphasizing the Present and De-

munists the real history of China, in which every Chinese could take heart, was not the succession of imperial dynasties with their "feudal" landlord ruling classes, the last representatives of which had not only cruelly plundered the people but had also shamelessly surrendered to the Western imperialists. Chinese history was the history of the struggles of the peasants against their feudal masters and of the people against the imperialist aggressors.

Mao Tse-tung had said it: "These class struggles of the peasants—the peasant uprisings and peasant wars—alone formed the real motive force of historical development in China's feudal society. For each of the major peasant risings and wars dealt a blow to the existing feudal regime and more or less furthered the development of the social productive forces."⁵ The past ten years have therefore seen an enormous outflow of documentary material and special studies of *nung-min ch'i-i*, "righteous uprisings of the peasantry," the use of the term *ch'i-i*, literally "uprising-righteous," rather than any one of several terms meaning "rebellion," being indicative of the general tenor of these works.⁶ In one example, the history of China from the Chou dynasty to the present is depicted as pivoting on nine major peasant uprisings. The historian is enjoined to begin his narration of each period with a detailed treatment of the struggles of the peasant masses against the landlords and nobles. He is then to describe the early period of the new dynasty that arose out of this conflict, noting the "concessions" the dynastic founder and his immediate successors were forced to make to the peasantry, but also remarking on the basic "feudal contradictions" that remained unresolved. Finally, in lesser detail, he should treat of the dynasty's later development, when these contradictions led inexorably into the next round of peasant risings.⁷

The "theoretical" basis adduced in these writings for assessing the significance of the *nung-min ch'i-i* turns out to be a combination of the familiar "dynastic cycle" (but now turned on its head and viewed from the putative point of view of the masses), the lessons drawn by Mao Tse-tung from the experiences of 1927, and Lenin on the role of the peasantry. As the remarks by Mao just cited imply, China's "feudal society" is seen not as wholly stag-

emphasizing the Past], *Pei-ching ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao*, *Jen-wen k'o-hsüeh* [Peking University Journal, Humanistic Sciences] (No. 3, 1958), 111-14.

⁵ "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Eng. ed., 4 vols., London, 1954-56), III, 76.

⁶ See, e.g., the collection of twenty-six studies covering Chinese history from the Ch'in to the Republic, *Chung-kuo nung-min ch'i-i lun-chi* [Collected Essays on the Righteous Risings of the Chinese Peasantry], ed. Li Kuang-pi, Ch'ien Chün-yeh, and Lai Hsin-hsia (Peking, 1958).

⁷ T'ang Lan, "Wang-ch'ao-shih t'i-hsi ying-kai ta-p'o" [We Must Overthrow the Genre of Court History], *Hsin-chien-she* [Reconstruction], Apr. 7, 1959, 11-13.

nant, but only slow in developing as compared with feudalism in the West. Historical movement comes as a result of the overthrow of successive dynasties by peasant revolt, which also forces the new unifier (often of peasant origin himself, as in the cases of Liu Pang [reigned 206-195 B.C.], founder of the Han, and Chu Yuan-chang [reigned 1368-1398], founder of the Ming, who are the favorite examples) to relax momentarily the restrictions on society's "social productive forces," that is, to offer concessions to the peasantry in the form of land registration in order to discover landlord tax evaders, lighter taxes, assistance in the opening of new lands, relief in times of natural disaster, and the like. These measures are presumed to increase peasant security and agricultural output, with a resultant larger social surplus which is the basis on which commerce, handicraft, and urban clusters develop that will ultimately undermine the "feudal" form of society.

The Chinese Communist commentators acknowledge that herein lies a "dialectical" problem, although the implications of this admission are perhaps deeper than they would admit. Peasant revolts, it is seen, in order to have their beneficial effects, are inextricably tied to the successful establishment of a new dynasty to replace that which the revolts had overthrown. In other words, in order to realize the positive results of peasant uprisings, such disturbances must be suppressed and political order restored. This is so because the peasantry, in the orthodox Marxist-Leninist view, are incapable of organizing a new sociopolitical structure of their own. Where purely peasant movements have been successful, as in the case of Li Tzu-ch'eng (1606-1645) at the end of the Ming, they both tend to reduplicate the institutions of the imperial regime that preceded them and are incapable of carrying out the thorough reorganization of local power that would effectively check the feudal-gentry-literati forces that have been momentarily defeated, but lurk off the scene ready to rise again at the first opportunity. *Nung-min ch'i-i*, then, cannot be viewed uncritically by the mainland historians; they are not the historical equivalent of the workers' and peasants' movement led by the Chinese Communist party which successfully overthrew the "compradore-feudal" Kuomintang and established socialist political power in China.⁸

Nor, I may add, given this "dialectical" evaluation, do they seem to be a foundation solid enough on which to erect a past that will evoke unqualified commitment. While useful perhaps in satisfying an immediate emotional hunger, peasant rebellion may be a rather unsatisfactory staple historical diet. It rarely, if ever, has an independent existence in the records of the past, but

⁸ Sun Tso-min, *Chung-kuo nung-min chan-cheng wen-t'i t'an-so* [Studies on the Question of China's Peasant Wars] (Shanghai, 1956), 8-19, 20-28, 40-54.

can only be seen—in a distorted image to be sure—through the eyes of the “feudal” officials and landlords, the literati, who are the authors of the millions of volumes of essays, memorials, history, poetry, and philosophy that comprise the awe-inspiring corpus of Chinese writing.

The subject of peasant revolts, however, is one on which there is probably considerable agreement among mainland historians. There is less unanimity in the case of a second major area of concern, the question of “incipient capitalism” (*tsu-pen chu-i meng-ya*).⁹ The problem of capitalist origins follows naturally from the assertion that, however slowly, China’s “feudal” economy was nevertheless developing and changing. What would have been the end product of that development if it had not been diverted from its “natural” course by foreign aggression? What was the nature of China’s pre-nineteenth-century society, and what were its potentialities?

Again Mao has supplied the text to which all other answers are mere exegesis: “As China’s feudal society developed its commodity economy and so carried within itself the embryo of capitalism, China would of herself have developed slowly into a capitalist society even if there had been no influence of foreign imperialism.”¹⁰ The exegesis in this instance began with the composition by Hou Wai-lu of an intellectual history of early modern China in which he ascribed the appearance of “bourgeois” thought in China to the late Ming and early Ch’ing periods, roughly the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹¹ This theme was carried forward in 1954 in a textbook largely written by Shang Yüeh which asserted that incipient capitalist elements (*meng-ya*) were already existent in the Ming.¹² In the next year extensive discussion in literary circles of the social background of the novel *Hung-lou meng* (Dream of the Red Chamber) stimulated a spate of articles agreeing that capitalist burgeons were already to be found prior to the Opium War, but differing quite sharply as to the date of their origin and the degree of their development and significance.¹³

⁹ See Albert Feuerwerker, “From ‘Feudalism’ to ‘Capitalism’ in Recent Historical Writing from Mainland China,” *Journal of Asian Studies*, XVIII (Nov. 1958), 107–16.

¹⁰ *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, III, 77.

¹¹ Hou Wai-lu, *Chung-kuo tsao-ch’i ch’i-meng ssu-hsiang shih* [History of Early Modern Thought in China] (Peking, 1956, but written and circulated privately more than a decade earlier).

¹² *Chung-kuo li-shih kang-yao* [Outline History of China], ed. Shang Yüeh (Peking, 1954).

¹³ The chief contributions to this discussion are reprinted in *Chung-kuo tsu-pen chu-i meng-ya wen-t’i t’ao-lun chi* [Collected Papers on the Problem of the Incipency of Capitalism in China] (2 vols., Peking, 1957) and *Ming-Ch’ing she-hui ching-chi hsing-t’ai ti yen-chiu* [Studies in the Society and Economy of the Ming and Ch’ing Periods] (Shanghai, 1957). Both collections are edited by the Chinese History Seminar of the Chinese People’s University of Peking.

For a time, during 1956 and 1957, it appeared that the view represented by the historian Shang Yüeh had won the day.¹⁴ In brief, Shang and his supporters argued that the late Ming and Ch'ing economy was already protocapitalist. The central arch of this contention was the assertion of the widespread existence of factory handicrafts (*kung-ch'ang shou-kung-yeh*) which are presumed to have fulfilled the Marxist criteria for capitalist production. Their development, so the schema goes, was preceded by a proliferation of internal and external trade. These market forces acted to bring about an increasing differentiation of handicraft, traditionally a peasant ancillary occupation, from agriculture, as well as an unprecedented concentration of landholding which forced many peasants into newly growing towns where they found employment in factory handicraft. The new "bourgeoisie" of the late Ming (whose ideological leaders, it is explained, were such men as Ku Yen-wu, Huang Tsung-hsi, and Wang Fu-chih) would eventually have seized political power in combination with their peasant allies (this is the interpretation given to Li Tzu-ch'eng's rebellion which overthrew the Ming) and then proceeded to prepare the rest of the prerequisites for the development of industrial capitalism, just as their English and French counterparts are alleged to have done. But the Manchu invasion and devastation of the land in the first instance and the imperialists' aggression and exploitation which followed in the nineteenth century prevented this happy fruition.

Like the debates on the nature of Chinese society of the 1920's and 1930's, in which most of the theoretical arguments now advanced were already stated,¹⁵ the present concern to establish that China's premodern economy was in fact evolving in accordance with the Marxist normative stages of societal development can be best understood as part of an effort to erect a new meaningful past, as the sewing of another stitch for the garment that would replace the rejected Confucian-literati habit. By claiming an identical pedigree with the West, parallel and not derivative, and of equal hoariness, the mainland historians are simultaneously discarding the Confucian past and substituting a Chinese equivalent value. To assert that Chinese society was not fundamentally different and to ascribe the humiliations endured to the conspiracy of the Manchu dynasty and its "compradore-feudal" successors with the imperialist powers is doubtless a means whereby self-respect may be preserved and the positive value of tradition maintained.

¹⁴ See Shang Yüeh, *Chung-kuo tzu-pen chu-i kuan-hsi fa-sheng chi yen-pien ti ch'u-pu yen-chiu* [Preliminary Studies on the Origin and Development of Capitalist Relations in China] (Peking, 1956), and his preface to the collection *Ming-Ch'ing she-hui ching-chi hsing-l'ai ti yen-chiu*.

¹⁵ See Benjamin I. Schwartz, "A Marxist Controversy on China," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, XIII (Feb. 1954), 143-53.

It may well be that, given the underdeveloped state of East Asian studies, we have until now underestimated the degree of commercialization of the premodern Chinese economy. But the step from the posited existence of extensive commerce and advanced forms of organization in handicraft manufacture to the assertion that the Chinese economy was developing toward an "industrial revolution" is an act of faith rather than a historical-scientific conclusion. Even more significant for our present purpose than the external criticism we might apply is the fact that more recently the weight of authoritative opinion seems to have swung away from Shang Yüeh.¹⁶

The reaction against Shang Yüeh raises some doubt about the probability that the mainland historians will be able to reach agreement on this part of the new reading of the past that they are seeking to establish. Assuming that somewhere in the writings of Mao (or Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin) there is the word, which of the incomplete and frequently offhand directives provided by the "classics of Marxism" shall be followed? In this instance, the remark by Mao just cited, beginning "As China's feudal society developed its commodity economy . . ." follows immediately after a passage that reads, "Chinese feudal society lasted for about 3,000 years. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that great internal changes took place in China as a result of the penetration of foreign capitalism." Shang Yüeh's critics explicitly indict him for contradicting this last passage. Behind their charge is the fear that too great an emphasis on internal protocapitalist developments prior to the full impact of Western imperialism in the nineteenth century might divert attention from the villain's role assigned to foreign capitalism in transforming China into a "semicolonial, semifeudal" status. This clearly would not fit in with the need, at this stage of the Chinese revolution, to project a large share of the blame for a century and more of humiliation and weakness onto the "imperialist aggressors," a matter that I shall discuss further. Thus Shang is accused of misinterpreting the nature of the Opium War, of failing to see that it marked the beginning of "the struggle between the Chinese people's anti-imperialist, anti-feudal line which sought to transform China into an independent and prosperous nation, and

¹⁶ See, e.g., Liu Ta-nien (associate editor of *Li-shih yen-chiu*, the leading mainland historical journal), "Kuan-yü Shang Yüeh t'ung-chih wei Ming-Ch'ing she-hui ching-chi hsing-t'ai ti yen-chiu i-shu so hsieh ti hsü-yen" [A Critique of Shang Yüeh's Preface to *Studies in the Society and Economy of the Ming and Ch'ing Periods*], *Li-shih yen-chiu* [Historical Studies] (No. 1, 1958), 1-16; a sweeping attack by the modern historians at the People's University in Peking, "P'ing Shang Yüeh t'ung-chih kuan-yü Ming-Ch'ing she-hui ching-chi chieh-kou ti jo-kan kuan-tien" [A Critique of Shang Yüeh's Views Concerning the Social and Economic Structure of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties], *ibid.* (No. 12, 1958), 21-35; and Li Shu, "Chung-kuo ti chin-tai shih yü ho shih?" [When Was the Beginning of Modern History in China?], *ibid.* (No. 3, 1959), 1-11.

the imperialist feudal line which sought to transform China into a colony." And this because of his false attribution of a connection between the leadership of the people's struggles in 1839-1842 and the "bourgeois urban movement" of the late Ming and early Ch'ing, with the result that "the nature of this Chinese national anti-aggressive struggle is changed into 'bourgeois' anti-feudalism."¹⁷ Playing up the degree of China's economic development along the Marxist normative road to capitalism, moreover, may raise doubts about the historical necessity of the revolution led by the Communist party. "If 300 years ago capitalism already held such a secure position," state the critics of Shang Yüeh, "then the anti-feudal land reform led by the Communist Party could not have occurred. . . . And how could there have been any necessity for the proletariat to seize the leadership of the democratic revolution?"¹⁸

In sum, then, the argument that the Chinese economy was following a path of development parallel to but independent of Western Europe, because it can never be firmly based on scripture and because it appears to conflict with certain political needs of the regime that have a higher priority, has turned out to be a less than satisfactory link in the newly forged chain of the past.

An article by Professor G. V. Efimov of Leningrad University in *Voprosy istorii* in October 1953 prompted the mainland historians to consider the question of the "formation of the Han nation." Employing Stalin's four characteristics of a "nation," Efimov concluded that China from the Chou dynasty (ca. 1027-222 B.C.) onward had possessed a *narodnost'* type of collective existence. But the Chinese (or Han) nation was formed only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and as a consequence of imperialist aggression it was a semicolonial bourgeois nation.¹⁹ The first Chinese response to this formulation was an article by Fan Wen-lan which followed Efimov in applying Stalin's criteria, but argued that as early as the Ch'in-Han period (221 B.C.-A.D. 220) China already had a common language, a common territory, a

¹⁷ Liu Ta-nien, "Kuan-yü Shang Yüeh t'ung-chih," 11-12.

¹⁸ People's University historians, "Ping Shang Yüeh t'ung-chih," 22-23. Shang Yüeh, however, has not given up the fight; see his recent rebuttal to Li Shu: "Yu-kuan Chung-kuo tzu-pen chu-i meng-ya wen-t'i ti erh-san shih" [Some Matters Concerning the Question of Incipient Capitalism in China], *Li-shih yen-chiu* (No. 7, 1959), 25-50.

¹⁹ G. V. Efimov, "K voprosu ob obrazovanii Kitaiskoi natsii" [On the Formation of the Chinese Nation], *Voprosy istorii* (No. 10, 1953), 65-78. Efimov's argument hangs on the term *narodnost'*, which the Chinese translate as *pu-tsu*, and which has no simple English equivalent other than perhaps "nationality." It is used on the one hand in contrast to "tribe" (*pu-lo*) and on the other in contrast to "nation" (*min-tsu*), and is defined as a stage in which the four Stalinist criteria of a nation are present to some degree, but not in a developed form. The common economy in particular is only incipient or potential and is not realized until the rise of capitalism produces a national market. See J. V. Stalin, "Marxism and the National Question" (1913), *Works* (Eng. ed., 13 vols., Moscow, 1952-55), II, 300-81.

common economic life, and a common psychology based on a common culture. Fan devoted considerable space to demonstrating that a common economic life was well developed, his chief argument being that Chinese "feudalism" differed from European feudalism in permitting the free alienation of land and in the degree of social mobility that was possible, and because it was characterized by the fusion of landlords and merchants. "Feudal" industry and commerce in China therefore were conducive to national unity and were the basis for the formation of a unified state (*t'ung-i kuo-chia*). "The Han race from Ch'in-Han onwards was not a *narodnost*' in a period of national disunity, nor was it a bourgeois nation of the capitalist period. It was a unique nation formed under unique social conditions."²⁰

Following a conference called by the Institute of Historical Research of the Academy of Sciences in November 1954 for the purpose of discussing Fan's thesis, many articles on this subject began to appear in the historical journals. The issue of whether or not premodern China had a common economy drew the most fire. It was assumed that in asserting the existence of a unified state, Fan Wen-lan intended to confirm the existence of a Chinese nation in the Ch'in-Han period. A minority of the commentators supported this position. But the majority chose to draw a distinction between a unified state and a nation and to argue that the latter did not exist prior to the development of capitalism, without which there could be no national market and hence no common economy. And capitalism was a late development. Depending on where one stood in the *tsu-pen chu-i meng-ya* controversy, it first appeared either in the late Ming, or after 1840. They agreed, in short, with Efimov's characterization of the premodern Han race as a *narodnost*', or nationality, rather than a nation.

The other half of Fan's assertion of China's uniqueness, that China was never a bourgeois nation, did not fare much better. Here the arguments of the majority criticized Fan for not giving enough attention to the effects of the incursion of foreign capitalism. It was due to this omission, they contended, that he failed to distinguish clearly between "feudal society" and "semifeudal, semicolonial society" and as a consequence denied that China was ever a bourgeois nation. In their view the essence of the "semifeudal, semicolonial" tag applied to post-1840 China is that Chinese "capitalism" had already begun to develop and undermine "feudal" society, hence "semifeudal." On this basis a bourgeois nation was gradually formed. But that development was stunted by imperialist encroachment, hence "semicolonial"

²⁰ Fan Wen-lan, "Shih lun Chung-kuo tzu Ch'in-Han shih ch'eng-wei t'ung-i kuo-chia ti yuan-yin" [Preliminary Discussion of the Reasons Why China Has Been a Unified State since the Ch'in-Han Period], *Li-shih yen-chiu* (No. 3, 1954), 15-25.

as a special characteristic of the Han nation. If there had been no Chinese bourgeois nation, it was asked of Fan, then how could one distinguish the ancient movements of the Han race against their feudal rulers and foreign aggressors from the "national liberation movement" of the past century? Fan was in error, moreover, in holding that because the proletariat led the bourgeoisie in the revolution that culminated in 1949, China could not have been a bourgeois nation. In that case, how could one understand the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the last fifty years for the leadership of the nation?

The significance of these arguments for the task of reinterpreting the past is not difficult to see. On the one hand Fan Wen-lan's statement that the Han race constituted "a unique nation formed under unique social conditions" represents an attempt, while still remaining within the perimeters of Marxism-Leninism, to claim for Chinese history a unique path of development. It is undoubtedly founded on the recognition that the assertion of a parallel, though separate, lineage with the capitalist West raises many difficult problems.

On the other hand, although I have referred to a "majority" as standing against Fan Wen-lan, there is no apparent unanimity on any other ground within this group. Like Fan, each writer made his bow to the "classics of Marxism," in this instance to Stalin's writings on the "national question." But when it came to specifying precisely when each of the four Stalinist criteria of a nation became operative in China, there was no agreement. Nor should one expect there to be when the writing of history sometimes consists of no more than the collection of quotations to illustrate the often inaccurate chance remarks of the doctrinal authorities. There is nothing in Stalin, or Mao for that matter, that really illuminates the development of nationalism in China. While, as I shall show below, it is to nationalism indeed that the mainland historians have in the end to turn, their effort to renew the past has benefitted little from their contemplation of the metaphysically stated "problem of the formation of the Han nation."²¹

²¹ The principal contributions to this discussion are reprinted in *Han min-tsu hsing-ch'eng wen-t'i tao-lun chi* [Collected Papers on the Question of the Formation of the Han Nation], comp. by the editors of *Li-shih yen-chiu* (Peking, 1957). Failure to reach a definite conclusion about the formation of the Han nation has perhaps had an adverse effect on the study of a related problem, the history of the non-Chinese national minorities. If it is not clear what the Han "nation" is, consideration of its relations with non-Han minorities is doubly difficult. See Huang Yuan-ch'i, *Chung-kuo li-shih shang min-tsu-chan ti p'ing-p'an wen-t'i* [Critical Problems Concerning National Wars in China's History] (Shanghai, 1957), 7-9. The mainland historians hold that Chinese historiography prior to 1949 either totally ignored or gravely slandered the history of these "brother" nations. (For example, Chien Po-tsan, "Tsem-yang yen-chiu Chung-kuo li-shih" [How to Investigate Chinese History], in *Tsem-yang hsüeh-hsi tsu-kuo ti li-shih* [How to Study the History of Our Fatherland] (Shanghai, 1953), 23-41, esp.

One further way of rescuing the value of the past, in this case of the most recent century, is to turn the blame for the political weakness, economic chaos, and cultural discord of that century onto an external scapegoat. The singular evil, and increasingly the focus of the study of modern history in Communist China, is "imperialism."

Any reader who has turned his attention to the deluge of historical writing now pouring from the People's Republic of China will certainly be aware of a consistent, if unintended, imprecision in the treatment of this "evil" in modern Chinese history. While the Manchu dynasty, its warlord successors, and finally the Kuomintang are of course subjected to all the abuse that can be expressed through the profuse use of characters written with the "dog" radical, the ultimate degree of obloquy is reserved for the "foreign imperialist aggressors." It may be safely ventured that at the present time the principal emphasis of the mainland historians who write on the history of the past century is quite in line with Mao Tse-tung's dictum of 1940: "The history of imperialist aggression upon China, of imperialist opposition to China's independence and to her development of capitalism, constitutes precisely the history of modern China. Revolutions in China failed one after another because imperialism strangled them. . . ."²² But for self-professed "scientific" historians the outlines of this foreign imperialist evil are remarkably shadowy and fluid.

Their imprecision is not due to any want of effort to define the enemy's

25-29. But post-1949 treatment of this question, despite a more positive evaluation of minority opposition to the Ch'ing, for example, continues to be colored by Chinese nationalism. Thus the conquest of the Hsiung-nu tribes by Han Wu-ti (reigned 140-87 B.C.) is interpreted as a "progressive" act because it contributed to the inevitable advancement of history through the Marxist stages, because it was motivated by the desire to protect the superior and relatively peaceful class relations—at that time—of the Han nation, because it was the Hsiung-nu ruling class that was hardest hit, and because through the conquest the more advanced Chinese culture was propagated among the Hsiung-nu. In the same vein, the revolt (ca. 1866-1877) of Yakub Beg against the Ch'ing was not "progressive" because it resulted in increased exploitation of the Moslem people, and was in fact a tool of British imperialist expansion into Turkistan. The Ch'ing suppression of Yakub Beg therefore is to be judged positively. See Huang Yuan-ch'i, *Chung-kuo li-shih shang min-tsu-chan ti p'ing-p'an wen-t'i*, 5-6, 26, 44-45. It seems manifest that in part the increased attention given to the history of non-Chinese minorities is motivated by a desire to tie them closely to Han China and to reassert and underline Chinese sovereignty over her border areas. Note, for example, the following: "Ever since ancient times Sinkiang has been an integral part of our fatherland. The history of Sinkiang is a segment of our great national history. The history of the Sinkiang peoples has its glorious past, in which we may take pride, but we must place it appropriately within the history of the fatherland, regarding it as a constituent part of that history." Chang Tung-yüeh, "Kuan-yü Hsin-chiang li-shih ti chi-ko wen-t'i" [Some Problems Concerning the History of Sinkiang], *Min-tsu yen-chiu* [Ethnological Studies] (No. 6, 1959), 14.

²² "On New Democracy," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, IV, 123. See, e.g., Hu Sheng, *Imperialism and Chinese Politics* (Peking, 1955), 53-54 and *passim*; Ting Ming-nan *et al.*, *Ti-kuo-chu-i ch'in Hua shih* [A History of Imperialist Aggression against China] (Peking, 1958), I; and Ch'ing Ju-chi, *Mei-kuo ch'in Hua shih* [A History of United States Aggression against China] (2 vols., Peking, 1952, 1956).

nature and motives. It is the expected thing for every writer to make such explicit assertions as "the nefarious activities of the imperialists aimed at halting China's progress" were in the beginning the result of "trade disputes," that the mid-nineteenth-century conflicts between China and the West, especially England, resulted from the aggressive designs of the "rising industrial capitalists" who "were anxious to convert [China] . . . into their own market in which they could sell their surplus commodities," and that finally, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, "the dominion of monopoly finance capital gradually established itself" and the "imperialist powers . . . no longer satisfied with the privileges secured earlier in China which enabled them to dump their goods and plunder the country" now "scrambled madly to acquire leased territories in China, to establish 'spheres of influence' and to place their investments in the country."²³ Although this diachronic differentiation of motive forces is piously put forward, it is remarkable to what degree historical narration in practice tends to lump all foreign contact with China in the modern period under the heading "imperialist aggression" and to ignore any finer distinctions. The first and greatest sinner on this count is Mao himself, in whose doctrinal writings "foreign capitalism" and "foreign imperialism" are often loosely interchangeable. Thus in the long list of sins which Mao attributes to the "imperialist powers" no clear distinction such as one might have expected from a disciple of Lenin is made between preimperialist capitalism and imperialist capitalism.²⁴ What is the significance of this "looseness" on the part of Mao and the Communist historians who are now elaborating on his pronouncements?

Whatever we may think of the validity of his particular formulations, it is evident that for Lenin "imperialism" had a relatively specific and restricted meaning.²⁵ The contrast between Lenin's specificity and the looseness of Chinese Communist historians is so marked that we can hardly believe that the Chinese are not aware of it. It would be misleading to interpret the protean and omnipresent application of the touchstone "imperialism" in current mainland writing as a very serious attempt to employ even the tools

²³ Hu Sheng, *Imperialism and Chinese Politics*, 4, 7-8, 110-11. See also Ting Ming-nan et al., *Ti-kuo-chu-i ch'in Hua shih*, 6-7; Hu Pin, *Shih-chiu shih-chi mo-yeh ti-kuo-chu-i cheng-to Chung-kuo ch'uan-i shih* [History of Imperialist Encroachment on China's Rights and Interests in the Late Nineteenth Century] (Peking, 1957), 7-16; a simple-minded catechism for students: Lu T'ien, *Chung-kuo chin-tai-shih hsieh-hsi wen-ta* [Questions and Answers for the Study of Chinese Modern History] (Shanghai, 1953), 19-20, 64-65; and Tai I, *Chung-kuo chin-tai shih-kao* [A Draft History of Modern China] (Peking, 1958), I, 1-11.

²⁴ "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, III, 77-81.

²⁵ See Alfred G. Meyer, *Leninism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), 235-73.

of Marxism to probe the history of the past century in order to comprehend it better, to explain its structure and dynamics. The study and writing of modern Chinese history in the People's Republic of China at the present time is primarily an ideological exercise and emotional release, repeated over and over again, the function of which is to harness and channel the real political and economic frustrations encountered in China's nineteenth- and twentieth-century experience in the interests of a new historical integration under the auspices of the Chinese Communist party. The invariable point of all synthetic work, and the implicit assumption underlying monographic research on modern history, is the unmitigated baneful result of foreign intrusions, in particular their deflection of the "normal" course of development of China's history. As Mao put it, "Revolutions in China failed one after another because imperialism strangled them."

Even while this state of affairs continues, one cannot but be aware of misgivings on the part of some of the actors. The Chinese Communist historians, as I shall show, are very much preoccupied with the question of the "periodization" of their history, a reflection of the large problems involved in making three millennia of Chinese history fit the normative Marxist stages of development. "Modern history" (*chin-tai-shih*), it now seems generally agreed, denotes the period from the first Opium War until the May Fourth movement.²⁶ But to accept this definition of modern history apparently can raise some embarrassing questions for the Marxist *cum* emotional nationalist Chinese historian, such as that which glimmers for a moment and then is quickly if not easily drowned in sophistry in the following remarks by Li Shu, a participant in the periodization discussions:

There remains one important question. If we employ a foreign war of aggression against China to mark a division point in the periodization of our history, do we not then become proponents of external causation? My answer is to deny this. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that the correct use of [historical] materialism does not at all deny a role to external causative factors; but external causes only manifest themselves through internal causes. Foreign capitalist aggression against China has influenced China to undergo internal changes. This means that Chinese society internally already possessed the prerequisite for the appearance of change; and this prerequisite was the high degree of development that China had attained during the long period of feudal society. At the time of the encroachment of foreign capitalism, if China had been no more than a primitive tribal society, the appearance of a bourgeoisie and a proletariat would have been impossible, no individuals with a developed consciousness could have emerged at all, and there could not have been a conscious revolutionary movement. . . . Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that China's revolution "is not merely

²⁶ See *Chung-kuo chin-tai-shih fen-ch'i wen-t'i t'ao-lun chi* [Collected Essays on the Problem of the Periodization of Modern Chinese History], comp. by the editors of *Li-shih yen-chiu* (Peking, 1957).

a formless uprising produced by the incursion of Western thought. It is a war of resistance provoked by imperialist aggression." This resistance is a conscious resistance which developed steadily in the period after the Opium War. Therefore it is reasonable for us to take the Opium War as a division point to mark the great revolutionary period that followed it.²⁷

Li Shu is sensitive about the problem of internal versus external causation in China's historical development. There is an obvious anxiety that to assign so large a role to foreign incursions in the structuring of China's modern history verges on abandoning the belief that this history was capable of autonomous development. This is almost to cast doubt on the value of one's own past, no small emotional wrench for the hypernationalist Chinese. An uneasy resolution is reached by asserting that "external causes only manifest themselves through internal causes" and that "Chinese society internally already possessed the prerequisite for the appearance of change."

Perhaps it is comforting to dispose of the problem in this manner, but the inherent instability of the answer is revealed in the oscillations of Chinese Communist historiography in the past few years, such as I have described in connection with the incipient capitalism controversy. There we saw that the position of Shang Yüeh has lately come under attack largely because it might seem to take some of the "heat" off the foreign aggressors as the perpetrators of China's sorrows. There is an obvious paradox, moreover, as I have already implied, in Mao's statement that "the history of imperialist aggression upon China, of imperialist opposition to China's independence and to her development of capitalism, constitutes precisely the history of modern China." Is not this assertion a form of "imperialism" itself, a self-inflicted historical imperialism as poisonous to the construction of a new and valued past for the "New China" as "foreign imperialist aggression" allegedly was to China's independence and to her economic development? Could a Western historian "get away" with putting the main dynamic force in modern China outside of the stream of Chinese history itself? That such a formulation could be long lived in China, where history has for millennia been explicitly recognized as first of all a defender of the key values of Chinese civilization, seems improbable.

Each of the foregoing problems might also be viewed as a part of a general concern to establish the periodization of Chinese history. Since 1949 there have been extensive discussions of the proper dating of the slave and feudal stages of Chinese history, of the beginnings of capitalism, and of the

²⁷ Li Shu, "Chung-kuo ti chin-tai shih yü ho shih?" 10-11.

periodization of modern history. The goal of the periodization discussions, even more explicitly than the other topics on which the mainland historians have concentrated, is to fit Chinese history into a Marxist suit of clothes. The end product of the procrustean tailors is to be a Chinese history that they confidently assume can be valued because it was inevitable, and because notwithstanding a long period of stagnation, in a last minute spurt it has completed the prescribed course well ahead of its competitors.

The central question in the periodization of ancient history is when did the era of slavery end in China and consequently when did the feudal era begin.²⁸ For it is assumed, of course, that Chinese society passed from primitive communism through slavery, feudalism, and capitalism to socialism, and that it will soon achieve the Communist paradise. The pressure to settle this question finally (and the other periodization problems as well) therefore probably stems as much from the Communist party leadership, who are anxious lest any looseness at the beginning of the developmental paradigm raise doubts about its completion, as it does from the historians themselves.

As "historical materialists," it is not surprising that the mainland historians have turned with great energy to the study of the material artifacts of their history. Since 1949 archaeological research has been greatly accelerated and significant new finds reported.²⁹ It is then quite appropriate that it should have been an article—only a retrospective one, however, since the records of the excavations in question are now on Taiwan—contributed by the archaeologist Kuo Pao-chun to a Peking newspaper in March 1950 that touched off the current round of discussions about the periodization of ancient history. This article described the discovery of many corpses of commoners, who had apparently been buried alive, in the Shang royal tombs at Anyang, and noted briefly that comparatively fewer such discoveries had been made for the Chou period.³⁰ Kuo Mo-jo, president of the Academy of Sciences and a leading student of ancient society, immediately suggested that those persons who had been buried alive were slaves, that this con-

²⁸ The principal contributions to the discussion of ancient history are reprinted in *Chung-kuo ti nu-li-chih yü feng-chien-chih fen-ch'i wen-t'i lun-wen hsüan-chi* [Collected Essays on the Periodization of the Slave and Feudal Eras in China], comp. by the editors of *Li-shih yen-chiu* (Peking, 1956), and *Chung-kuo ku-shih fen-ch'i wen-t'i lun-t's'ung* [Essays on the Periodization of Ancient Chinese History], comp. by the editors of *Wen-shih-che* [Literature, History, and Philosophy] (Shanghai, 1957).

²⁹ See *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao* [Journal of Archaeology], which includes English extracts of its articles, and Cheng Te-k'un, *Archaeology in China*, I, *Prehistoric China* (Cambridge, Eng., 1959).

³⁰ *Kuang-ming jih-pao*, Mar. 19, 1950, reprinted in *Chung-kuo ti nu-li-chih yü feng-chien-chih fen-ch'i wen-t'i lun-wen hsüan-chi*, 58-60.

firmed his view that the Shang (16th century–1027 B.C.) was a slave society, and that moreover the Chou too was a slave period.³¹

In the disputation that subsequently developed, there were two principal opposing positions (with numerous subvarieties, of course) represented respectively by Kuo Mo-jo and by the historian Fan Wen-lan. Kuo's views over the years have gone through a considerable evolution. In his well-known *Study of Ancient Chinese Society* (1930) [see note 3 above], he had labeled the Shang as a matriarchal clan society in the stage of primitive communism, the Western Chou (ca. 1027–771 B.C.) as a slave society, and the Eastern Chou from the Ch'un-ch'iu period (770–481 B.C.) onward as the beginning of feudalism in China. Later, in the *Ten Critiques* (1945) and elsewhere, this schema was revised radically with primitive communism relegated to the pre-Shang period, slavery extended through the Shang, Chou, and Ch'in with some survivals even in the Han, and the beginning of the feudal period identified with the Han dynasty. By the early 1950's Kuo had arrived at a still further modification which he still holds today.³² The Shang and Western Chou remain periods of slave society. Kuo interprets the decline in the number of burials of commoners in the Chou tombs as a sign of the development, not the decline, of slavery. As the slave system of production developed, slaves became more valuable and hence fewer were sacrificed. But sometime during the middle of the Eastern Chou, roughly at the transition from the Ch'un-ch'iu ("Spring and Autumn") period to the Chan-kuo ("Warring States"), slave society gave way to feudal society. It is of significance that for the most part these successive reinterpretations are not based on startling new evidence.

In contrast to Kuo, Fan Wen-lan and his supporters, although their arguments are based on precisely the same sources as Kuo employed, hold that the Western Chou was not a slave period at all. The Shang was a type of slave society, but the Chou conquest in the eleventh century B.C. represented a social revolution that replaced the slave system with feudalism. This is shown by the fact that the Chou abolished the practice of burying persons alive. Where, asks Fan, was the equivalent social revolution between the Western and Eastern Chou? This school of thought also contends that Chinese feudal society in its first stage, until the establishment of a unified empire by the Ch'in in 221 B.C., was characterized by the nominal ownership of the land by the Chou sovereign and the relative weakness of private property. In

³¹ *Kuang-ming jih-pao*, Mar. 21, 1950, reprinted in *ibid.*, 54–58.

³² Cf. Kuo Mo-jo's "Nu-li-chih shih-tai" [The Period of Slavery], in *ibid.*, 1–53 (written in 1952) with his "Kuan-yü Chung-kuo ku-shih yen-chiu ti liang-ko wen-t'i" [Two Problems in the Study of Ancient Chinese History], *Li-shih yen-chiu* (No. 6, 1959), 1–8.

the later stage of "absolutist feudal society," private ownership by landowners who exploited their estates with serf labor was characteristic.³³ To both Kuo and Fan, "feudalism" means essentially a landlord economy in which the exploitation of serf labor is the dominant form of agriculture. Their arguments about the beginnings of feudalism do not depend, as is the case with many non-Marxist Chinese scholars, on the identification of the Chou practice of enfeoffment (*feng-chien*) with its alleged counterpart in Western Europe. Thus despite their differences with regard to its origin, they both agree that the feudal stage in China lasted until at least the nineteenth century.

To this date the definitive periodization of ancient history has still to be achieved; the argument continues roughly along the lines outlined above. While the historians are confident that it can be settled, perhaps through the discovery of new historical sources, the variety of detailed studies of the Shang and Chou which rake over the oracle bones, bronze inscriptions, and ancient texts and quote profusely from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao remain bewildering. If a definitive periodization is ever established, it is less likely to be the result of new archaeological finds than of a prescribed reading of the Marxist classics. These texts in themselves manifestly provide no sure guide, but the trends in their interpretation seem to point in the direction of a victory for the school of thought led by Kuo Mo-jo.

Fan and those who follow him depend in part on a version of Marx's speculations about an "Asiatic mode of production." True, they do not in general go so far as to apply this tag in a wholesale fashion to Chinese society in the imperial period, thereby suggesting that this was the chief cause of China's long stagnation, as some participants in the earlier discussions on the nature of Chinese society had done. They do, however, tend to follow Lü Chen-yü, who proposed in 1940 that the Asiatic mode of production was in fact a variant of the stage of slavery in which certain elements of clan society and primitive communism have survived.³⁴ On this basis they claim that slave society in China was never fully developed before it was replaced by feudalism, and that it would therefore be in error to view Chou society as a further development of Shang slavery. But, in whatever

³³ Fan Wen-lan *et al.*, *Chung-kuo t'ung-shih chien-pien* [A Short General History of China] (Shanghai, 1952, 8th printing of 1948 rev. ed.), and Fan, "Ch'u-ch'i feng-chien she-hui k'ai-shih yü Hsi-Chou" [The First Period of Feudal Society Began in the Western Chou], reprinted in *Chung-kuo ti nu-li-chih yü feng-chien-chih fen-ch'i wen-t'i lun-wen hsüan-chi*, 59-73.

³⁴ See Lü Chen-yü, *Chung-kuo she-hui-shih chu wen-t'i*, 2, 31, and *passim*. This whole matter is further complicated by the intense debates on the "Asiatic mode of production" and "Oriental society" in the Soviet Union and among Japanese Marxists which I am unable to treat here.

qualified fashion one broaches the matter of an Asiatic mode of production as an explanation of Chinese history, there is always the danger that the fascination of this theory will lead some to "misuse" it, even to suggest that it, rather than feudal oppression and imperialist exploitation, was the cause of China's centuries of backwardness.³⁵ This as we have seen is politically *non grata*. Kuo, on the other hand, rejects this formulation entirely, and it is therefore probable that his version of the periodization of ancient history has stronger backing from the Communist party than that of his rival. For our purposes, the principal significance of all this quotation dropping is that the problem of periodization, like all the others we have discussed, is unsolvable except on completely arbitrary grounds, and thus makes little positive contribution to the revaluation of the past.

Relatively little attention has been given to the periodization of the two millennia of feudal society that the mainland historians assert followed the epoch of slavery. This is perhaps indicative of a reluctance to venture forth in uncharted waters.³⁶ The Marxist classics have had very little to say about the feudal period; their emphasis has always been on tracing the origins and development of a capitalism that successfully grew out of medieval society and much less on analyzing the antecedent feudal order. What criteria shall be applied then in dividing feudal society into neat little packets? Very much the same problem exists with respect to the periodization of China's modern history, but here the external political demand for agreement insures that the question has received close attention. The nearer we approach to the modern period, the greater is the apparent agreement among historians and the more is conformity required. With respect to modern history proper, the consensus on the main outlines and characteristics seems nearly complete.

In discussing the place assigned to "imperialism" in mainland historiography, I noted the possible drawbacks to taking the Opium War—the beginning of foreign aggression against China—as the starting place for modern history. This nevertheless is what is being done. All are agreed that during the Opium War and its aftermath Chinese feudal society was transformed into semifeudal, semicolonial society which lasted until the establishment of the People's Republic in October 1949. "Modern history" extends from 1840 to 1919 and is characterized by the gradual development of the forces

³⁵ In fact, one of Fan's supporters does just this; see Yang Hsiang-k'uei, "Chung-kuo li-shih fen-ch'i wen-t'i" [The Problem of Periodizing Chinese History] in *Chung-kuo ti nu-li-chih yü feng-chien-chih fen-ch'i wen-t'i lun-wen hsüan-chi*, 331–58, esp. 355.

³⁶ See, however, Shu Shih-cheng, *Chung-kuo ti feng-chien she-hui chi ch'i fen-ch'i* [China's Feudal Society and Its Periodization] (Shanghai, 1957).

of the "Old Democratic Revolution" (or bourgeois revolution) which reached its culmination in the movement led by Sun Yat-sen. From 1919 to 1949 is the period of the "New Democratic Revolution" under the leadership of the Chinese Communist party, and is referred to as "contemporary history." "Current history" or the "epoch of the People's Republic of China" began with 1949.³⁷ With the outline and content of modern history so fully prescribed by the political leaders of the regime, the historians have been able to do no more than turn with a vengeance to the task of elaborating the stages and substages of that century.

The discussion was initiated by an article by Hu Sheng, best known as the author of *Imperialism and Chinese Politics*,³⁸ in the first number of the journal *Li-shih yen-chiu* (Historical Studies), which set forth an elaborate scheme of seven stages (1840-1850, 1851-1864, 1864-1895, 1895-1900, 1901-1905, 1905-1912, 1912-1919) and attempted to justify them by postulating three great "revolutionary waves" of the class struggle with which they were related. The numerous articles on this subject that followed were all of the same kind—proposing a bewildering confusion of dates and rationalizing them by one or another Marxist criterion. Let me illustrate with three examples out of many: Sun Shou-jen, four stages (1840-1864, 1864-1894, 1894-1905, 1905-1919), determined by reference to the "principal contradictions" in Chinese society; Chin Ch'ung-chi, five stages (1840-1864, 1864-1894, 1894-1900, 1900-1914, 1914-1919), correlated with alleged social and economic changes—changes in the "mode of production"; Tai I, three stages (1840-1873, 1873-1901, 1901-1919), using the same class struggle criterion applied by Hu Sheng.³⁹

For the most part, the reader's probable impression that this cutting and trimming is pointless is a correct one. What possible difference can it make whether one ends a chapter or a lecture on modern history with 1901 or ends it with 1905 when he has already squeezed the whole century into a semi-feudal, semicolonial garment? What, after all, is the difference between a

³⁷ The scriptural sources for the treatment of modern history are, above all else, Mao Tse-tung's *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party* (written in December 1939) and his *On New Democracy* (written in January 1940); see *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, III, 72-101, 106-56. The principal contributions to the recent discussions of the periodization of modern history are reprinted in *Chung-kuo chin-tai-shih fen-ch'i wen-t'i t'ao-lun chi*.

³⁸ Hu Sheng, *Imperialism and Chinese Politics* (Eng. ed., Peking, 1955).

³⁹ Hu Sheng, "Chung-kuo chin-tai li-shih ti fen-ch'i wen-t'i" [The Problem of Periodizing Modern Chinese History], *Li-shih yen-chiu* (No. 1, 1954), 5-15; Sun Shou-jen, "Chung-kuo chin-tai li-shih ti fen-ch'i wen-t'i ti shang-chüeh" [A Discussion of the Problem of Periodizing Modern Chinese History], *ibid.* (No. 6, 1954), 1-15; Chin Ch'ung-chi, "Kuan-yü Chung-kuo chin-tai li-shih fen-ch'i wen-t'i ti i-chien" [Opinions on the Periodization of China's Modern History], *ibid.* (No. 2, 1955), 37-51; Tai I, "Chung-kuo chin-tai-shih ti fen-ch'i wen-t'i" [The Problem of Periodizing Modern Chinese History], *ibid.* (No. 6, 1959), 1-22.

"manifestation of the class struggle" and a "principal contradiction" as a criterion for the organization of that history when one already knows that it is the struggle of the masses against the feudal landlords and foreign imperialists that forms the content of modern history? And if either of these, or the third—the "stage of development of the mode of production"—has the "scientific" validity that the Chinese historians claim, then why is there so much disagreement about which manifestations are significant, which contradictions are the principal ones?

It would be unfair, however, to deny that some small part of the argument over the periodization of modern history does have a substantive content, although it is admittedly difficult to discover in the prolix verbiage. The views of Hu Sheng and Sung Shou-jen, for example, reveal quite opposite interpretations of the 1898 Reform Movement and the Boxer Rebellion, although both remain safely within the parameters of modern history à la Mao Tse-tung. Hu takes as the criterion for his periodization, as we have seen, the three great "revolutionary waves" of the class struggle which he identifies as the years 1850–1864 (the Taiping Rebellion), 1898–1900 (the Reform Movement and Boxer Rebellion), and 1905–1911 (the revolutionary activities of the T'ung-meng-hui culminating in the overthrow of the Ch'ing in 1911). Sung chooses to place his reliance on Mao's typology of the "fundamental contradictions" in modern Chinese society, that is, imperialism versus the Chinese nation, the people versus feudal reaction, the bourgeoisie versus the proletariat, and the "contradictions within the reactionary ruling classes themselves." From his own fortress, Sung is able to criticize Hu, because of the latter's concern with the class struggle, for ignoring what Mao has stated to be the "principal contradiction"—between imperialism and the Chinese nation. As a consequence, states Sung, Hu does not take seriously enough the program of "national and racial salvation" of the 1898 reformers and sees their reformism only as a device to head off peasant rebellion. Similarly, because he concentrates on the class struggle, Hu is accused of misinterpreting the Boxer movement and calling it a "perversion." He incorrectly characterizes Tz'u Hsi's declaration of war against the Western powers as a cunning policy aimed at getting rid of the Boxers by embroiling them with superior foreign troops. But in truth, continues Sung, this was only a secondary motive. If Hu had kept in mind the "principal contradiction," he would have seen that the Empress Dowager's decision for war was a positive response of the court to an actual threat to the existence of the dynasty and that it was made under the impact of a popular anti-imperialist movement.

These are points of considerable interest to historians of modern China,

but they are unrepresentative of the general level and tenor of the periodization discussions. The articles and essays devoted to dividing up modern history are, I believe, unrivaled in their sterility anywhere else in mainland Chinese historiography. Everything of significance has been prepackaged in an airtight wrapping. Not a whiff of contingency can be allowed to adulterate the inevitable, the predetermined. If this is the way the Chinese Communist historians seek to make their recent past meaningful and valued, they have on their own admission fallen far short of their goal.

What, if I may attempt to draw up a balance sheet, has ten years of concentration on the foregoing problem areas contributed to reestablishing the meaning of the Chinese past? Peasant rebellion as the main content of Chinese history is a chimera. Too much emphasis on China's independent parallel development with the West toward capitalism has unwanted political implications. The "formation of the Han nation" leads either to the postulation of China's uniqueness, which Marxist orthodoxy cannot accept, or to metaphysical nonsense. If "imperialism" is the key to modern Chinese history, that history stands in danger of losing entirely its autonomy and hence its meaning. No definitive periodization of ancient history is possible except on arbitrary and thus meaningless grounds. This arbitrary decision has already been taken in the case of the more politically sensitive modern period, and its flummery revealed.

And from a broader perspective, consider what has been left out as well as what has been the center of historical interest. Almost no attention has been given to the two thousand years of what is referred to as the feudal period. The enormously broad and exciting question of the development and inner life of Confucianism, the analysis of China's unique and remarkably long-lived political institutions, the animation of the religious and ideological controversies in the great periods of Han (206 B.C.-A.D. 220), T'ang (618-906), and Sung (960-1279), the complex role of barbarian invaders in China's history—all this is dismissed as "protracted stagnation" and little more. It is small wonder that during the "anti-rightist campaign" of 1957 one of the principal accusations directed against the "rightist" historian Hsiang Ta was his alleged characterization of post-1949 historiography as being "at the brink of death" because of its exclusive attention to the questions of periodization, capitalist burgeons, peasant wars, the feudal land system, and the formation of the Han nation.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ *Jen-min jih-pao* [People's Daily], Oct. 4, 1957; American Consulate General, Hong Kong, *Survey of the China Mainland Press* [SCMP], Dec. 3, 1957, 25. On Hsiang Ta, see SCMP, July 29-30, 1951, 27-28.

Above all else, the past has been seen only in terms of the inevitable present that followed it. However much talmudic exegesis is applied to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist scriptures, the assertion that the past is meaningful cannot be combined with the simultaneous declaration that the study of the past is primarily for the purpose of discovering laws and uniformities applicable in the immediate present. Nor can it be logically professed that the movement of history is inevitable, but that this inevitable future is only realized through the meaningful decisions of historical individuals.⁴¹ Meaning in history centers on the contingent choice of alternatives at the time that the choice is made. It is the contingent, of course, that Chinese Communist historiography completely obliterates. The past is only raw material for the present, standing in the same relationship to it as wood pulp to a printed volume of the works of Mao Tse-tung.

My over-all characterization of Chinese Communist historiography, then, is that it is in danger of being meaningless. This is a fact of which even one who does not read Chinese may satisfy himself by a look at a recent English-language volume emanating from the Foreign Languages Press in Peking and entitled *An Outline History of China*.⁴² (Nothing much better in the way of an introductory general history written after 1949 is yet to be found in Chinese.) It reveals only a mechanically acted melodrama, culminating inevitably in "the great victory of the new democratic revolution" in 1949.

However indirect the references to this matter may be, the Chinese Communist historians themselves have not been able to repress the anxieties that are a concomitant of a meaningless past. The continuing, perhaps even accelerated, publication of articles devoted to the topics I have surveyed is in part motivated by the hope that these issues, if pursued relentlessly, really can yield a precipitate of meaning. Other signs of this anxiety are apparent both in the policy statements of the leading Communist historians and in the tack that the writing of history has taken most recently.

In his address to the founding meeting of the Chinese Historical Society in Peking on July 28, 1951, Kuo Mo-jo surveyed the path onto which he stated the Chinese historians "under the leadership of the Party had entered

⁴¹ For typical discussions of this matter, see Chien Po-tsan, "Mu-ch'ien li-shih chiao-hsüeh chung ti chi-ko wen-t'i" [Some Present Problems in the Teaching of History], *Hung-ch'i* [Red Flag], May 16, 1959, 21-31, and Pai Shou-yi, "Li-shih chiao-hsüeh shang ti ku yü chin" [Ancient and Modern in the Teaching of History], *ibid.*, June 1, 1959, 36-44.

⁴² The book was published in 1958 as part of the "China Knowledge Series," intended to introduce Western readers to Chinese civilization; the name of the author (or authors) is not given. It is of interest, too, to peruse the section on history in the *Outlines of Examinations for Matriculation to Institutions of Higher Education in 1959*, comp. by the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (trans. in American Consulate General, Hong Kong, *Current Background*, Aug. 17, 1959); the same dreary story appears.

. . . with regard to their method, style of work, purpose and subject of study”:

1. The old idealistic view of history was gradually being replaced by the materialistic view of history.
2. Collective research was gradually replacing individual studies.
3. Historical research, hitherto an “ivory tower” enterprise, was gradually turning to serve the people.
4. The attitude of adoration of the past and contempt for the present was gradually giving way to appreciation of the modern period.
5. Han chauvinism was gradually giving way to consideration for the national minorities.
6. Emphasis on European and American history was gradually ceding place to attention to Asian history.

Seven years later, in 1958, he admitted that in this address “I was trying to give everyone encouragement, so what I said was more or less what I hoped for. To judge from present conditions, the speed with which our historians have changed has not been so great as I expected. . . . Our scholars’ understanding of Marxism-Leninism is not yet profound enough and not yet unanimous. We must still make greater efforts in our ideological revolution.”⁴³ Taking note of the fact that Kuo’s 1951 pronouncement summarizes quite succinctly the policy lines that have guided the mainland historians in the past decade, I am struck by his confession that all has gone less well than he had expected, and in particular by the statement that “Our scholars’ understanding of Marxism-Leninism is not yet profound enough and not yet unanimous.” This is not an isolated criticism. Among the other panjandrums of the historical profession, Pai Shou-yi, for example, has recently characterized the great majority of mainland historians as “still elementary students of Marxist theory,” and Chien Po-tsan, at greater length, has declared:

At present all our historians are studying Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, but our studies are still very much inadequate. This is revealed principally in that we have not yet comprehended how to use theory in order to analyze concrete historical questions. Thus in the teaching of history, we are unable to combine properly theory and source materials, we are not able to employ theory to penetrate the sources.⁴⁴

⁴³ “Kuan-yü hou-chin po-ku wen-t’i,” in which Kuo quotes his 1951 speech; *SCMP*, July 27–28, 1951, 18.

⁴⁴ Pai Shou-yi, “Li-shih chiao-hsüeh shang ti ku yü chin,” 39; Chien Po-tsan, “Mu-ch’ien li-shih chiao-hsüeh chung ti chi-ko wen-t’i,” 30–31. Note also the following remarks by the archaeologist Yin Ta: “[Despite progress since 1941] when closely examined the study of the science of history is still found to be seriously infected with subjectivist and dogmatic ways of working. Some historians are still unable to gain possession of detailed data and to analyze large numbers of objective historical facts in earnest for the purpose of drawing up the correct conclusions under the guidance of the theories of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. On the contrary, they frequently proceed from certain texts in the Marxist-Leninist classics to concoct various kinds of theories with their own subjective imagination. After that, they go

Why—after ten years of ideological remolding, continuous indoctrination in Marxism-Maoism, criticism and self-criticism, and all the other concomitants of political control of intellectual activity—are the historians in the People's Republic of China still told by their leaders that their major shortcoming is their lack of a profound grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism? The answer, of course, is obvious. It cannot be that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an inadequate set of tools for the job they have undertaken—the reconstruction and revaluation of China's past. Then it must be that the historians have been clumsy with their scissors and paste.

Aside from theoretical incompetence, there has been other telling self-criticism. Why, it is asked, are there still no satisfactory textbooks or general histories (*t'ung-shih*)?⁴⁵ (The non-Marxist reader may query in turn, how can there be when the problems of periodization and the like remain unsolved?) The new crop of historians is poorly trained, having mastered neither the Chinese nor the Western classics of history and showing little competence in foreign languages or even in classical Chinese (*ku-wen*).⁴⁶ (Again, can it be that the better students prefer to enroll in the scientific and technological faculties where the political pressure, while still great, is less direct?) There has been much done with the collection and publication of source materials, which is indeed valuable, but why so little first-class monographic and synthetic work?⁴⁷ (Perhaps the publication of documents and annotated editions of sources, like concentration on premodern history or procrastination in producing a definitive periodization, which are also criticized, is a device, however feeble and temporary, to avoid control.)

What way out of this state of affairs? One way was to “emphasize the present and deemphasize the past” (*hou-chin po-ku*). The May 1958 issue of *Li-shih yen-chiu*, the most important historical journal in the People's Republic of China, led off with a string of heavyweight editorials by Kuo

on to quote one-sidedly certain historical data drawn from here and there in order to prove their predetermined conclusions. Such phenomena can definitely be detected in the controversies about the periodization of ancient history in China, the formation of the Han nation, and incipient capitalism. If allowed to continue, this state of affairs will lead to greater confusion; it can offer no real solutions to problems.” (*Jen-min jih-pao*, May 30, 1956; trans. in *SCMP*, July 13, 1956, 31–36, slightly modified.)

⁴⁵ Yin Ta, *Jen-min jih-pao*, May 30, 1956; T'ang Lan, “Wang-ch'ao-shih t'i-hsi ying-kai ta-p'o.”

⁴⁶ Pai Shou-yi, “Li-shih chiaoh hsueh shang ti ku yü chin.”

⁴⁷ Kuo Mo-jo, “Kuan-yü hou-chin po-ku wen-t'i” and “Kuan-yü mu-ch'ien li-shih yen-chiu chung ti chi-ko wen-t'i” [Some Present Problems Facing Historical Research], *Hsin chien-she*, Apr. 7, 1959, 1–5. For a detailed review of some of the major publications of documents on modern history, see *Journal of Asian Studies*, XVII (Nov. 1957), 55–111. *Ching-chi yen-chiu* [Economic Studies] (No. 5, 1958), 89–90, lists thirty-eight major projects under way for the compilation of source materials on modern Chinese economic history alone.

Mo-jo, Fan Wen-lan, Ch'en Yuan, Hou Wai-lu, Lü Chen-yü, and Liu Ta-nien which proclaimed that slogan, a clear sign that the party was unhappy about the condition of historical studies. *Hou-chin po-ku* had a double edge. On the one hand it was meant to be taken literally as a guide to cutting up the pie of available historical manpower and other facilities. But it also indicated a tightening of the political screws so far as the historians were concerned. Fan Wen-lan, in an address to a symposium of historians and archaeologists in April 1958, put it very neatly:

The difference between placing more emphasis on the present than on the past, and placing more emphasis on the past in preference to the present, represents a struggle between the two paths of promoting the proletariat and demoting the bourgeoisie, and of promoting the bourgeoisie and demoting the proletariat. We, of the new historians, should adhere to the Marxist standpoint and regard it as our responsibility to emphasize the present in preference to the past and to promote the proletariat and demote the bourgeoisie.⁴⁸

If the historians had not done their assigned jobs well, if they had not been able to provide the regime with a neatly packaged past that would call forth intellectual and emotional commitment from their readers, a conclusion that follows from the criticism summarized above, it was because they were still ideologically backward. And a large measure of blame for that backwardness was attributable to their isolation from the great struggles of the masses of workers and peasants to build a socialist society. They had failed to solve the problems of ancient history because they did not adequately comprehend the present. Liu Ta-nien, an editor of *Li-shih yen-chiu* and author of a study of American "imperialist aggression" against China, stated it this way: "Marxism tells us that if we are to understand ancient China scientifically, we must emphasize the study of modern and contemporary China." The historical classics of the past and present, Chinese and foreign, he continued, have always reflected certain political and economic systems and have directly or indirectly served such systems. "The *Spring and Autumn Annals* [*Ch'un-ch'iu*] of Confucius has been revered as a 'classic,' and therefore it is a typical learned work. But it has been said that Confucius wrote the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and 'struck fear in the heart of rebellious ministers and insolent sons.' It is clear that its contents are not 'independent' and not aloof from politics." The burden of Liu's rather skillful reference to Confucius, and also, interestingly enough, to H. B. Morse's *International Relations of the Chinese Empire* as an example of a classic written from the "bourgeois" viewpoint, was to urge onto the Chinese historians an increased "politicalization" of their work in order "thoroughly to expose

⁴⁸ SCMP, May 8, 1958, 37-39, Apr. 23, 1958, 46-48.

the hypocritical viewpoint of the bourgeoisie and establish the Marxist viewpoint instead." "We are willing to do without bourgeois learning; we need only Marxist learning," he concluded.⁴⁹

I need hardly emphasize that pulling historians out of their ivory towers into the current "struggles of the masses" is not likely to avert the crisis of meaninglessness that Chinese historiography faces. The reluctance of the problems which the historians have set for themselves—periodization, peasant revolts, the formation of the Han nation—to yield to solution cannot be ascribed to inferior Marxist tailoring. Quite the contrary. And in the specific case of modern history, how can the historians do anything other than sterile periodization exercises? Liu Ta-nien admits that there are "some comrades" who fear to participate actively in the study of recent history. But he immediately brushes the problem aside:

Contemporary history should not evoke any fear because of its close link with present-day life which makes its practitioners more liable to criticism. That should spur us on to more and more intensive research. The phrase "let one hundred schools of thought contend" [*pai-chia cheng-ming*] has two meanings: it means free research and also free criticism. If people are free only to make public their new views but not to criticize erroneous thinking and erroneous style of work, then there would be only "crying" [*ming*] but no "contention" [*cheng*]. But we must have both crying and contention at the same time. There are those who fear that in the research and discussion of contemporary history, academic questions might easily be confused with political questions. Of course the two are related, but they are also distinguishable from each other. In order to distinguish them, and create an environment for free research, academic circles must be able to conduct academic criticism correctly.⁵⁰

Who would decide when academic criticism was being conducted "correctly" requires no comment.

Running parallel with the *hou-chin po-ku* "line," so to speak, there has most recently appeared another candidate for the first string of Chinese Communist historiography, none other than the celebrated general and poet Ts'ao Ts'ao (155–220). The most prominent character in the exciting epoch of the downfall of the Later Han dynasty, Ts'ao Ts'ao is known to every Chinese as the villain of the famous novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*San-kuo-chih yen-i*), the tyrannic usurper who seized the last Han emperor, Hsien-ti, and in lifelong warfare contested with the heroic Liu Pei and his great min-

⁴⁹ Liu Ta-nien, "Hsü-yao cho-chung yen-chiu 'Wu-ssu' yun-tung i-hou ti li-shih" [We Must Stress the Study of History after the "May Fourth" Movement], *Li-shih yen-chiu* (No. 4, 1958), 9–14.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

ister Chu-ko Liang for universal dominion of the empire. The evaluation of Ts'ao Ts'ao among historians has more or less corresponded to that of the novel: able and crafty, but wicked and unscrupulous. In the traditional histories this judgment depended in part on the fact that the Wei dynasty (220-265) of the Three Kingdoms epoch, which was established by Ts'ao and his son, was not a "legitimate" successor to the Han, while Liu Pei who founded the Shu dynasty (221-264) was a distant relation of the Han ruling house and his rule could thus be considered legitimate. For the modern "progressive" historians the principal blot on Ts'ao's record was his brutal suppression of the peasant uprising known as the "Yellow Turbans" during the last years of the Han. But beginning with pronouncements by Chien Potsan and Kuo Mo-jo early in 1959, and followed by intensive discussion in the newspapers and historical periodicals, the case of Ts'ao Ts'ao has recently been reopened and, it seems, the judgment of the past completely overturned.

The discussion has centered on three issues: Ts'ao's suppression of the Yellow Turban rebellion, the policy of land reclamation that he carried out with his troops (*t'un-t'ien*), and his ruthless military expedition against the Wu-yuan people. Ts'ao Ts'ao, wrote Kuo Mo-jo, in putting down the Yellow Turban rebellion, did not violate the goals of that quite just peasant uprising. The Yellow Turbans were poorly organized and incapable of bringing about the improvement that they sought in the people's livelihood. When Ts'ao defeated them, many of the Yellow Turban troops voluntarily joined his forces. Would they have followed him if he were the vicious person that the historians have alleged? The *t'un-t'ien* policy moreover, far from being in the interest of the great landlord families or contributing to Ts'ao's own enrichment, provided his troops and the civil population of northern China with the food and other agricultural products that had been in such short supply. Ts'ao himself led a Spartan life, and with the popular support and military resources that the land reclamation policy ensured, he was able to defeat his enemies in battle and eventually to unify much of China. The suppression of the semicivilized Wu-yuan tribes was not an aggressive act against a weaker people, but a defensive war against a backward barbarian invader for which he had wide popular support. (It is of interest that on this last point Kuo quotes a poem by Mao Tse-tung in which he finds a favorable reference to Ts'ao Ts'ao's expedition against the Wu-yuan—poet and military leader Mao bowing to poet and military leader Ts'ao!) Ts'ao, Kuo admitted, had often recklessly slaughtered his enemies, and his errors and shortcomings were not to be overlooked. Yet, his strong points outweigh his shortcomings. "In my opinion . . . Ts'ao Ts'ao made a

greater contribution to the development of the nation and its culture than any of his contemporaries."⁵¹ Although there was some dissent from Kuo's call for a new estimate of Ts'ao Ts'ao,⁵² the consensus strongly supported the view that Ts'ao Ts'ao's contributions to enriching and strengthening the Chinese "nation"—the key word in Kuo's brief for the defense—warranted a reappraisal of his place in China's history.⁵³

Along with the refurbishing of the erstwhile villain Ts'ao Ts'ao has gone an appeal for the reevaluation of many others, not popular heroes or leaders of peasant revolts, but emperors, generals, statesmen, and scholars of the feudal past, such as King Chou, the "licentious" last ruler of the Shang dynasty, the first Ch'in emperor (reigned 221–210 B.C.), Han Wu-ti (reigned 140–87 B.C.), T'ang T'ai-tsung (reigned 627–649), and the great Manchu emperors K'ang-hsi (reigned 1661–1722) and Ch'ien-lung (reigned 1736–1796).⁵⁴

These recent developments are potentially of great significance for the problems that the Chinese Communist historians face. Although there has been no Chinese equivalent of M. N. Pokrovsky, the approach to China's past through such topics as peasant rebellion, capitalist origins, and periodization is in a number of ways quite similar to the tendency in Soviet historiography associated with the name of that Russian historian. Pokrovsky, who dominated his profession until the 1930's, and his adherents presented their materials "in a theoretical and schematic form," writing an almost anonymous history of the movement and clash of social forces. They "portrayed all pre-Soviet institutions and personalities in a sarcastic vein. This did not meet the needs of a regime that wished to stimulate patriotism by rehabilitating selected personalities, and to present Russian history in an interesting narrative form suited to secondary school education."⁵⁵ After his death Pokrovsky was severely attacked, and Soviet historiography moved steadily onto a more nationalistic tack which culminated in the near chauvinist output of the World War II period. I suggest that the rehabilitation of Ts'ao Ts'ao and the others is analogous to the post-Pokrovsky reevaluation

⁵¹ Kuo Mo-jo, "T'i Ts'ao Ts'ao fan-an" [Let Us Reopen the Case of Ts'ao Ts'ao], *Hsin-hua pan-yüeh k'an* [New China Semimonthly] (No. 8, 1959), 104–108 (reprinted from *Jen-min jih-pao*, Mar. 23, 1959).

⁵² E.g., Yang Ping, "Ts'ao Ts'ao ying-tang pei k'en-ting ma?" [Should Ts'ao Ts'ao Be Viewed Favorably?] *ibid.* (No. 12, 1958), 141–45 (reprinted from *Jen-min jih-pao*, Apr. 21, 1959).

⁵³ See *ibid.*, 137–41, 145–49, for additional contributions to the discussion.

⁵⁴ Kuo Mo-jo, "Tui Yin Chou-wang ti i-chung k'an-fa" [One Way of Looking at King Chou of the Yin Dynasty], *Hsin chien-she*, Apr. 7, 1959, 6–7; and "Kuan-yü mu-ch'ien li-shih yen-chiu chung ti chi-ko wen-t'i."

⁵⁵ *Rewriting Russian History: Soviet Interpretations of Russia's Past*, ed. C. E. Black (New York, 1956), 15.

of Ivan the Terrible, for example, by Soviet historians. It represents a shift from an emphasis on the popular past to an emphasis on the national past. But, I hasten to add, neither need exclude the other, nor can one say with any assurance how far the change will go in China. Yet the context within which the Ts'ao Ts'ao discussion has occurred leads me to believe that it is part of the most recent attempt by the mainland historians to cope with the threat of a meaningless past.

About the same time that the matter of reevaluating Ts'ao Ts'ao was occupying a prominent place in mainland publications, Chien Po-tsan and others who had reopened the case of Ts'ao Ts'ao were also expressing their reservations about the manner in which the *hou-chin po-ku* "line" had been carried out. Writing in *Hung-ch'i*, the semimonthly theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party and manifestly the most authoritative publication in the People's Republic of China, Chien was highly critical of the fact that "some colleges have excessively reduced the proportion of ancient history in the general study of history."⁵⁶ He thought it an error, too, that a number of schools in response to "emphasizing the present and deemphasizing the past" had turned their curricula upside down and were now teaching modern history before ancient history.⁵⁷ This could only make it more difficult for the students to comprehend the laws of social development. Chien then proceeded to criticize those historians who taught an anonymous history—saying "the early Han" rather than "Ch'in Shih-huang" or "Han Kao-tsu"—and those who in their Marxist purity omitted all mention of the ruling class. "To sum it up, when teaching history, we must emphasize the explanation of the laws of social and economic development of each period, and the creative role of the masses; but we must also discuss the roles of individual historical personages." In a similar vein Kuo Mo-jo was critical of historical research.⁵⁸ It is correct, he asserted, to abandon court-centered history, but imperial dynasties nevertheless existed and cannot simply be ignored. He objected to those who omitted the *nien-hao* (reign title) and the customary honorific or temple names of the emperors and cited merely the Western calendar years and the rulers' personal names (*ming*) in the belief that to do otherwise would indicate deference or respect to these "feudal" rulers. And like Chien, Kuo took exception to the

⁵⁶ Chien Po-tsan, "Mu-ch'ien li-shih chiao-hsüeh chung ti chi-ko wen-t'i."

⁵⁷ For extremely interesting—and saddening—reports on how the several universities executed the instructions to "emphasize the present," see *Li-shih yen-chiu* (No. 8, 1958), 73–75, (No. 9, 1958), 71–76, (No. 10, 1958), 70–79, (No. 11, 1958), 71–73, (No. 12, 1958), 83–88, (No. 7, 1959), 90–93.

⁵⁸ Kuo Mo-jo, "Kuan-yü mu-ch'ien li-shih yen-chiu chung ti chi-ko wen-t'i."

tendency to write only about the masses and to give short shrift to the affairs of the ruling classes of the past.

This implied dissatisfaction with the cruder aspects of Marxist historiography, though of course not with Marxism-Maoism itself, seems to be related to the Ts'ao Ts'ao discussions in that both are part of an effort to patch up what I earlier described as the largest hole in the garment of Chinese Communist historiography, the two millennia of "feudal" void. It will doubtless remain "feudal," but it is possible that larger and larger portions of it will be reevaluated from a viewpoint that is at least as much Chinese as it is Marxist. "One of the important meanings implicit in the discussions of Ts'ao Ts'ao," stated a report of a meeting of historians in Shanghai in the spring of 1959,

is that we now know how to make a correct appraisal of the characters of history. In the course of the discussion, all participants agreed on the principles advanced by Kuo Mo-jo that we should judge a character in history from an overall point of view and assess his place in history according to his major deeds. Particularly we should see whether he made any contribution to the people and to the development of the whole nation and to cultural development. We should make an overall analysis of him and of the background of the times he was in, taking the role he played in historical development as the standard.⁵⁹

It is too early to say what the effects of these pronouncements will be. If, however, a reevaluation of Ts'ao Ts'ao and the other "feudal" figures is in fact carried out on the basis of their "contribution to the people and to the development of the whole nation and to cultural development," the mainland historians will indeed have taken a long step toward replacing a Chinese meaning in their past. In the words of the report of the Shanghai historians' conference that I referred to earlier: if the problem of Ts'ao Ts'ao "is correctly settled, then we can gradually discover a correct attitude toward our cultural heritage, and find the solution to the question of how to tackle present problems in the light of ancient, similar cases."

Chinese history will never be "bourgeois" history again. And it is equally unlikely that the Pokrovsky-like treatment of anonymous social forces will disappear from the scene in the People's Republic of China. It is, however, possible to conceive of (perhaps, better, to hope for) a time when the importunate demands of the real world, as interpreted by the Chinese Communist leadership, will have abated enough to permit the relinquishment of belief in a single source of evil in modern history. "Imperialism" will not be banished from the mainland historical workshops, but its dimensions may

⁵⁹ U. S. Joint Publication Research Service, "Report on Academic Discussions in Shanghai," *Communist China Digest*, Aug. 31, 1959, 24-27.

be reduced as the successful construction of a new domestic tradition proceeds apace. The result will still not be the kind of history that will satisfy the Western student of China, any more than the dominant Marxism of Japanese historiography can be taken as an adequate picture of Japan's past. But some of the emotion, and aggression, will have been wrung out of the Chinese fabric. And it may be that on some matters at least the historiographical meeting of minds, East and West, will be feasible.

The Military View of American National Policy, 1904-1940

FRED GREENE*

IN the decades before 1940, the army and navy repeatedly complained about the lack of guidance they received from the White House or the State Department concerning American national policy. The absence of over-all directives and the failure to establish a formal coordinating agency during this time compelled the military planners to fall back on their own resources in defining our national policy, national interests, and position in international affairs. This they felt compelled to do in order to plan for the country's military security within a meaningful frame of reference.¹ Hence their studies of strategy, reorganization of forces, alterations in security arrangements and disposition of troops, and preparations for international conferences were all prefaced by estimates of American national policy.²

A study of the conception of American foreign policy held by the military planners indicates that they made a painstaking effort to gain a clear understanding of national policy. They then shaped plans and programs in accordance with the position of the United States as they understood it. To a considerable extent, these broad analyses were responses to such specific, current problems as the shape of war plans, a disarmament conference, retrenchment in the army, or Philippine independence. Hence any one paper would be colored by the immediate issue, but the over-all background study sought to identify American national interests objectively. In this manner the services gradually developed their interpretations of national policy over

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¹ The agency in charge of planning was the Joint Board of the Army and the Navy (JB), established in 1903. It was the highest interservice military agency in the government until the Second World War. It was succeeded by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. After 1918 the Joint Board comprised the Army Chief of Staff and the Chief of Naval Operations, their deputies, and the heads of the two services' War Plans Divisions (WPD). In 1919 the Joint Board was given an effective staff—the Joint Planning Committee (JPC)—which had at least three representatives from each service's WPD. The JPC and WPD comprised the highest level strategic planning agencies in the armed forces during this period.

² See Mark S. Watson, *Chief of Staff: Prewar Plans and Preparations* (Washington, D. C., 1950). Chapters I-VI deal with the interplay of strategic planning with foreign policy and domestic pressures. For the pre-1940 development of planning organizations and concepts, see Chapters II and III of Ray S. Cline, *Washington Command Post: The Operations Division* (Washington, D. C., 1951).

several decades. When confronted with a new problem at any given point, they tended, perhaps unconsciously, to consider these views as the position of the United States government.

At the time the country became a world power the nature of American foreign policy was a source of confusion. An isolationist nation undertaking potentially serious commitments in the Western Pacific while remaining isolationist, despite a world war, in the Atlantic created an enormous strain on planners in search of basic guidance. It is not surprising that this ambivalent American attitude led to uncertainty or to divergent views between the army and the navy. Changes in technology and the international political scene also subjected the positions held by the two services to constant modifications. With the rise of the Axis powers, the relationship between "national" and "military" policy became most intimate, and a unified position in the Joint Board of the Army and the Navy was soon established. Finally, there was a continued effort, without much success, to align our commitments and objectives with American capabilities—immediate or even projected.

Military planners considered the causes of war to be rooted in a nation's security and foreign policy, and viewed military policy as subordinate to these affairs of statecraft.³ They also recognized that the nation's over-all military posture had to be determined by the government. As expressed by the Chief of Staff, General Charles Summerall, it was "based upon international relations, especially our obligations as a World Power, internal order, past experience and financial limitations."⁴ When the need arose to build up the country's armed forces against the Axis threat to the New World, the army stressed its obligation to provide for hemisphere defense. It observed that "the War Department has no thought of aggression, nor does it desire to build up and maintain [in time of peace] the military forces that might be required to win a war."⁵

The kind of subordinate position accepted by the military leadership was reflected in a conversation in 1936 between Dr. Stanley Hornbeck of the State Department and Lieutenant Colonel L. T. Gerow. Responding to the army's evident desire to remove its forces from the Far East, the State

³ Presentation by General Tasker Bliss before the Joint Board, June 10, 1904, JB 305. Pre-1918 Joint Board records are located at the World War II Branch of the War Records Division of the National Archives, GSA, in Alexandria, Virginia.

⁴ Memo, Chief of Staff (C of S) to the five divisions of the General Staff, Aug. 8, 1929, sub: Survey of the Military Establishment, War Plans Division (WPD) 3345. Post-1918 WPD records are also located in Alexandria; see n. 3.

⁵ Memo, Assistant Chief of Staff (AC of S) to Deputy Chief of Staff (DC of S), Feb. 2, 1939, sub: Need for Five Divisions, WPD 3674-13.

Department representative inquired why it did not seek to have America's policy in that region changed. This, Hornbeck added, was more logical than requesting the removal of the military forces supporting that policy. Gerow reported,

I told him that the War Department was not the State policy making agency, that being a State Department responsibility. But that the War Department was responsible for the military aspects of any policy adopted and that it was a duty of the War Department to point out the extent to which we might become involved through military commitments and make recommendations accordingly.⁶

The sense of being responsible for this type of professional advice weighed heavily upon the strategic planners and led them to stress the importance of prudence. In considering the relationship between national and military policy in the grim atmosphere of 1939, a joint planning paper observed that the military's task did not include the responsibility to establish or amend national policy. Instead the overriding requirement was for army and navy actions so planned as to make effective the national policy as defined by the executive and Congress.

The planning paper went on to caution that, when we commit the furtherance of national policy to military and naval action, we alter the conditions under which it can operate. Military operations in turn may unavoidably change national policy in a manner unforeseen by the civilian officials who resorted to armed force or by the military and naval executors of the action. In Clausewitzian terms, the Joint Planning Committee (JPC), the Joint Board's staff agency, added that to some extent every military decision in war threw to fate a hostage of uncertain value as to the future of the nation. It was therefore an ethical responsibility of the military and naval authorities to choose courses of action most surely adapted to advance the national policy and not to change it. The professional experience of the military and naval officers, the JPC concluded, was therefore to serve the high purpose of enabling them to advise whether a certain course of military action would advance or harm the national interest involved.

Military planners had to develop their views under the handicap of two types of isolation. The country as a whole appeared satisfied with its traditional diplomacy of isolation from Europe during this period and looked upon the events of 1917-1919 as a mistaken departure in policy. The other isolation was administrative: the planners were kept apart from the civilian directors of policy. The absence of any permanent coordinating agency often prevented them from explaining important military aspects and consequences

⁶ Nov. 24, 1936, WPD 3533-8.

of a foreign policy on which they felt obliged to tender advice and recommendations.⁷

As early as 1908 the Joint Board complained that it had difficulty in deciding where to concentrate the fleet because the government did not clarify its major policies and areas of greatest interest.⁸ Repeated proposals between 1912 and 1922 for an agency to coordinate national and military policy brought no results. The most determined effort was a proposal to Secretary of State Hughes in 1921 that members of his department sit with the Joint Board and the Joint Planning Committee to consider questions of national policy. The JPC, which initiated this suggestion in 1919, felt that national policy had to be formulated first, as the foundation of any war plan, and that this was primarily a State Department responsibility.⁹ Hughes rejected the offer because he feared that it would lead to military intervention in matters of foreign policy. It was not until 1938 that a regular coordinating agency was formed.¹⁰

The State Department did agree to joint deliberations on specific problems suitable to such efforts, with highly beneficial results. Three examples of fruitful cooperation and continual exchanges of views were the fields of arms limitations in both the naval aspects and the more general discussions at Geneva, relations with Latin America during the 1920's when the country shifted its policy to one of nonintervention, and the clarification of our position and military forces in the Far East.¹¹ But this did not satisfy the JPC, which echoed a lament of twenty years' standing in 1939.

Frequently in joint planning tasks, the Joint Planning Committee has had to work in the dark with respect to what national policy is with respect to a specific problem, or what it may be expected to be. The Joint Planning Committee has not always been in a position to seek authoritative expressions of fact or opinion from representatives of other Executive Departments, in particular the State Department.¹²

The effect of the national posture of isolationism was more far reaching.

⁷ Letter from Captain H. W. Yarnell to Lieutenant Colonel J. W. Gulick, Oct. 28, 1919, sub: National Policy and War Plans, JB Ser. Miscell, 18.

⁸ JB Copy Book, Feb. 21, 1908, 325-27.

⁹ Letter from Secretaries of War and Navy to Secretary of State, Dec. 7, 1921, sub: Coordination of War and Navy with State Department, JB 301, Ser. 147.

¹⁰ For a study of this problem based on State Department files, see Ernest May, "The Development of Political-Military Consultation in the United States," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXX (June 1955), 163 ff.

¹¹ On the difficulties and complexities of military-diplomatic coordination, see Louis Morton, "National Policy and Military Strategy," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXXVI (Winter 1960), esp. 4-7. See also his study of United States ground forces in China, withdrawn in 1938, in "Army and Marines on the China Station: A Study in Military and Political Rivalry," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXIX (Feb. 1960).

¹² WPD memo, July 22, 1939, sub: College of National Defense, WPD 2500-6.

To a considerable extent, it limited the sphere of military thought and preparation to the defense of the homeland. Thus the two war plans dealing with a maximum national effort were couched in terms of the defense of the United States. These plans in turn played a major role in influencing the army viewpoint regarding other strategic considerations as well as questions of personnel, logistics, and weapons.¹³ When Congress passed the National Defense Act of 1920, it incorporated many organizational reforms on the basis of recent experience, but these too were geared toward the efficient mobilization of economic strength and of the three echelons of manpower—the regular army, the National Guard, and the organized reserve—for continental defense.¹⁴ Even the capacity for action under this minimal arrangement was drastically curtailed by budgetary economies which Congress adopted after 1920.¹⁵ The economies also had a devastating effect on the development of new weapons, since outlays for research were very modest. As a consequence, it became difficult to evaluate the full impact of new weapons, or attain that vital degree of momentum in which technological change spawns combat innovations and gives rise to further change.¹⁶

The importance of an isolationist context and tight budgets is mirrored in the army's force levels. Though Congress authorized a regular army of 280,000 in 1920, it immediately reduced this number to 175,000 over a presidential veto. This was followed by a debate to reduce the force to 150,000 enlisted men, during which Senator John S. Williams of Mississippi expressed the prevailing viewpoint:

... to my mind it seems obvious that there are two theories with regard to a military establishment. . . . One would be to establish an Army to whip anybody and everybody that might by remote possibility make any attack upon us. In order to do that we would need about 2,000,000 men on a peace establishment, or a million, at any rate. [Author's note: Chief of Staff Peyton March determined on 508,000 in his 1920 recommendation with just such an objective in mind.] Then everybody of a timid character and temperament who is always scared to death about somebody whipping us would feel safe. The other is to pursue our traditional policy of conserving the financial resources of the people during times of peace and, when war comes, submit ourselves to the immense strain necessary,

¹³ See, for example, WPD memo, based on war plan operations, WPD to G-3, Mar. 13, 1936, sub: Organization of the Army, WPD 3662-2. Navy requirements, however, were estimated in light of another plan, War Plan ORANGE, after 1921. See n. 26.

¹⁴ See, for example, House Committee on Military Affairs, 66th Cong., 1 sess., Hearings on H.R. 8287 (Sept. 3–Nov. 12, 1919), for the army's original position, and General Order 31 (July 18, 1921), summarizing the meaning of the legislation passed on June 4, 1920.

¹⁵ The army's requirements in materiel are discussed in Chapter vi of R. Elberton Smith, *The Army and Economic Mobilization* (Washington, D. C., 1959).

¹⁶ See Constance Green, Harry C. Thomson, and Peter C. Roots, *The Ordnance Department* (Washington, D. C., 1955). Chapters II and VII discuss the slow rate of research and development before 1940.

with the extravagance of expenditure of blood and capital both necessary, but having accomplished the purpose of keeping the people free during peace times from the burdens of war.

This war has shown . . . that . . . you can meet the most efficient . . . military force that the world ever dreamed of . . . but if in the meantime you had kept your people burdened all those 50 years, they could not have done it, they would have had neither the spirit nor the financial ability nor the morale to do it.¹⁷

Congress reached its lowest level of authorization, 125,000 enlisted men, in 1924. Actual strengths were fixed by appropriations at 118,750 for 1924-1926, but fell even lower than that, hitting 109,356 in 1926 and 110,940 in 1927 before being raised to 118,000 in 1928.¹⁸ Meanwhile the army worked out a series of developmental projects, including a stillborn ten-year ordnance plan, and Major Army Project Number 1 to raise the regular force to 165,010 men.¹⁹ The most caustic appraisal of this plan and related projects came from Major General William Snow, who felt it was idle to talk of 165,000 men.

With the nation at the height of financial prosperity the military establishment year after year has suffered cuts in appropriations. It would be a foolish optimist who could see any prospect for better treatment in the immediate future or who, in the event of a decline in our present prosperity, failed to count upon further severe slashes in army appropriations. . . . The basic consideration which must govern the strength of the Army in time of peace is the Budget.²⁰

In fact, the Secretary of War told the Chief of Staff in 1927 not to seek an increase, for Congress felt that it had been generous in raising existing strengths from their depressed levels to 118,000.²¹ And it was to be a full decade before the army approached a strength of 165,000.

Force deficiencies were of great strategic significance to the army. It felt the 1920 law itself was barely adequate for the limited task of continental defense, comparing "with foreign types as the rough forging of a finished tool. Nevertheless, circumstanced as we are, it is an instrument adequate for our security." The regular army had the task of absorbing the first shock of any aggression, but, given our favorable location, a moderate force was considered adequate to deny a base in or near the United States to an enemy.

¹⁷ *Congressional Record*, 66 Cong., 3 sess. (Jan. 13, 1921), 1349-50.

¹⁸ Memo, G-4 to C of S, June 24, 1927, AG [Adjutant General] 320-22 (6-18-26), and memo, G-3 to C of S, Jan. 10, 1927, sub: Hearings before Military Affairs Committee, AG 011 (12-29-26) (1) Sec. 1. These and other AG files are in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* See also Comprehensive Report on Present State of National Defense, 1929, WPD 3311.

²⁰ Comments submitted by Chief of Field Artillery, Jan. 4, 1927, sub: Major Army Project No. 1, AG 011 (12-29-26) (1) Sec. 1.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Conference of C of S and Branch Chiefs, Jan. 19, 1927.

Under the 1920 act the regulars were to have nine infantry and two cavalry divisions. In 1927, however, only eighty thousand troops were in the United States, and over half of these were committed to specific assignments. This left a strategic force of just three divisions, totaling nineteen thousand men, and six reinforced brigades totaling thirteen thousand, as well as 5,700 cavalry. The army concluded that "the condition of our emergency force . . . is the cause of our gravest concern" because it would be hard pressed to carry out the initial mobile defensive assignments in the major war plans.²²

In 1939, when America's perspective widened to include hemisphere defense against the Axis, the same picture emerged on a slightly broader canvas. Though naval and air power were being augmented, the army had but four divisions and five brigades, in various stages of completion, to meet or deter an Axis threat in South America. To guarantee hemispheric security, through control of vital bases, the army requested that its forces be raised to five complete divisions.²³

The navy, too, experienced economies in force. These were effected by a combination of disarmament treaties and congressional budgetary pressure.²⁴ Since Congress was determined to curtail expenses, the navy bowed to the inevitable and accepted a naval holiday in 1922. The navy did, however, express a desire for a 10:10:5 ratio and successfully opposed the Japanese request for a 10:10:7 arrangement in capital ships. It reluctantly accepted the 10:10:6 settlement finally agreed upon.²⁵ More important was its success in having the Anglo-Japanese alliance terminated, thus ending even the remote possibility of a coalition of these naval powers. In the London Treaty of 1930, however, it had to go along with a 10:10:7 settlement in cruisers. It is known that Japan built up to its treaty line while the United States, even with some construction during the depression, was still below its allotted levels when the treaty lapsed in 1936.

The prime naval concern before 1914 centered in the Caribbean, but with the defeat of Germany, attention shifted to the Pacific. There the combination of a "natural enemy" and a very distant Philippine possession presented

²² Statement prepared for C of S by Colonel Stanley D. Embick for presentation to the House Committee on Military Affairs, Hearings on the National Defense Act, 1927, AG 011 (12-29-26) (1) Sec. 1. Similar concern is expressed in memo, WPD to G-4, June 9, 1925, sub: Reduction of Military Activities, WPD 2189; and WPD memo, July 5, 1934, sub: Readiness of Army to Carry Out Missions, WPD 3828.

²³ WPD 3674, cited in n. 5.

²⁴ On congressional voting patterns, see George L. Grassmuck, *Sectional Biases in Congress on Foreign Policy* (Baltimore, 1951), esp. Chap. II.

²⁵ General Board to Secretary of the Navy, Nov. 21, 1921, added to the important General Board study, sub: Naval Recommendations on the Coming International Conference, Sept. 21, 1921, GB 438, Ser. 1088, in WPD file, sub: Limitations of Armaments Conference, WPD 375-14.

a difficult situation. Defense of the Western Pacific was a strategic problem for the navy, much as continental defense was for the army.²⁶ Also, both services were sorely taxed by other obligations, in addition to their major assignments. They were, therefore, alert to any change in world conditions and highly sensitive to proposals that might affect their precarious positions. They realized how profoundly the naval disarmament treaties had weakened America's strategic position in the Western Pacific and were quick to oppose any further proposals to dismantle existing fortifications or limit our full liberty of action in the Canal Zone or Hawaii.²⁷ The requirement to defend these three overseas territories was always a major conditioning factor in their policy considerations.

The commitment to the Philippines would inevitably be challenged in this era of isolationism and inadequate continental defense. By common consent Hawaii and the Canal Zone were essential bastions which had to be maintained, but the Philippines were an unrewarding burden, which threatened to involve us in a war after 1930 with Japan. Early manifestations of the great tide of Asian nationalism further complicated the issue. For in 1934 the Filipinos were promised their freedom after a decade of transitional rule. The Philippine question, with its strands of nationalism, Axis aggression, and American obligations, forced the United States into major diplomatic and military considerations beyond the bounds of isolation. But it took the rise of German power to shatter the narrow isolationist framework to which the Philippine issue was an anomalous appendage. Gradually and painfully, continental defense expanded to hemispheric and eventually global commitments.

It is difficult to recapture the novelty of that step toward hemispheric defense in 1938-1939. The fact that it was of great significance to the armed forces indicates how powerful the pressure of isolationism had been. In a critical review of past policies, the army in 1939 noted that the peace-pacifism-economy pressures of twenty years had compelled it to adopt a completely passive mission of defending the continental United States and its overseas possessions, a mission held consonant only with "the stonewall defense of complete isolation."²⁸

²⁶ The complexity of planning for both the Philippines and a general war with Japan are detailed in Louis Morton, "War Plan ORANGE: Evolution of a Strategy," *World Politics*, XI (Jan. 1959), 221-50.

²⁷ Letter from Secretary of War to Secretary of State, Sept. 22, 1921, WPD 77; memo, AC of S WPD to C of S, Apr. 27, 1927, sub: Three Power Naval Conference at Geneva, WPD 2938.

²⁸ Memo, AC of S WPD to C of S, Nov. 1, 1939, sub: War Department Concept of Military Mission of National Defense Prior to Adoption of Policy of Hemisphere Defense, WPD 4175-2.

The insular nature of the American political environment left the armed forces ill prepared to think in terms of transatlantic operations. When General Tasker Bliss, a leading army intellectual, sought to establish a basis for joint war planning in 1904, he began with the essentials of United States foreign policy: the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine, efforts to extend trade, and intervention in a Latin American state to maintain order.²⁹ He considered the first to be the basic one, the second to be the root cause of aggression. That is, we had but one policy for three generations, the Monroe Doctrine, and would respond in its name to an act of aggression, undertaken for extension of trade. With 1898 in mind, Bliss noted that one policy led to war, causing other policies to be adopted and so, perhaps, to other wars. The Monroe Doctrine, a precept that stemmed from a desire for isolation from Europe, led to war with Spain, and "the unanticipated acquisition of an immense empire in the remote waters of the Pacific." Thus we sustained our isolation in one direction and found it "completely destroyed in the other."³⁰

The guides for army planners were the Monroe Doctrine, isolation from Europe, an economic determinist interpretation of the causes of war with particular emphasis on foreign trade, and a distracting possession, the Philippine colony. Bliss felt that the Philippines' tie to Oriental trade might lead to war. More likely the colony would become the target of a European enemy in a war growing out of the Monroe Doctrine and would be the real objective of such a war ostensibly undertaken for other causes.

A decade later the army still viewed the Monroe Doctrine and the avoidance of entangling alliances as the two "underlying and abiding national policies" whose maintenance was "as necessary as our national life."³¹ It recognized that in the Far East new policies might evolve as a result of international relations regarding trade conditions, similar to the Open Door in China. The European war brought the claim that America traditionally asserted its own rights and respected others, seeking right to prevail over lawlessness.

But, the army added, changing conditions required more than a passive defense. It cited the "increasing facility with which armies and navies can be transported"; the rise in importance of trade and industry the world over, especially in the United States with the end of its continental expansion;

²⁹ Presentation, June 10, 1904, JB 305.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Memo, War College Division (WCD) to Secretary of War, Sept. 11, 1915, sub: A Proper Military Policy for the United States, WCD 9053-90. WCD file materials dating before 1918 are generally in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

and the added responsibilities in the Pacific. By 1920 it was even more evident that America was a world power. Its industry "is or will be advanced as to make the security of her commerce and markets vital to her economic life." The old policies had to be enforced, as new ones were framed, in relation to a military force whose size "is measured by the degree of need which is behind our Foreign Policy."³² After the First World War the army view continued to stress the Monroe Doctrine, which enjoyed "tacit general recognition" throughout the world, and the isolationist strand of thought, but it recognized that we had vast Pacific commitments and growing world interests, particularly economic needs.³³

The navy's analysis of American foreign policy revealed a similar spectrum of concepts but it laid greater emphasis on the new elements of world trade needs and the Pacific, both of which converged upon the target of Japan. This focus on a specific opponent was also a consequence of the navy's duty to meet any attack while the army mobilized its full strength behind this shield. The joint planners therefore came to consider the protection and security of the United States fleet as one of America's vital interests. Naval plans were developed in the early years with regard to a likely opponent, selected on the basis of his foreign policy objectives and naval power. Thus the navy shifted its major interest from Britain to Germany to Japan during the generation after 1890. Isolation in the naval sense had the more limited meaning of not seeking a war or initiating aggressive actions in waters distant from the New World.

In 1904 Rear Admiral Henry Taylor, in discussing the basis for joint war plans, explained that by the turn of the century Germany had replaced Britain as the main opponent in our naval plans. He stressed that one can best determine the alignment for war by studying the development of great nations and comparing the general international situation with the past. In the case of both European powers, the Monroe Doctrine was at the root of his reasoning and the Caribbean was the most sensitive and vital theater. But even at this early date he pointed to American commercial interests in Asia and the complication aroused by our possession of the Philippines. To him the present moment was "one of rapidly changing conditions, international and military," requiring a change in the basis of our plans because

³² Memo, AC of S WPD to C of S, Sept. 22, 1921, sub: Policies and Influences Determining the Development of Armaments of the Great Powers, WPD 80.

³³ On the persisting importance of the Monroe Doctrine and the nonaggressive attitude of the United States in Latin America, see memo, AC of S to C of S, Aug. 31, 1926, sub: Possible Menace to Panama Canal, WPD 1162-21.

of "the increasing prominence assumed by the situation in Northeast Asia."⁸⁴ In advancing the then very popular argument that America's industrial development had a vital and dependent connection with the great populations of East Asia, Taylor concluded, "We may expect in the future to find the sacredness of the Monroe Doctrine drop to second in the national mind, and our trade relations with Eastern Asia assume first place, and become the principal cause of war."

It should be noted that at the time the Joint Board addressed itself to the immediate problem at hand. It drafted instructions for the preparation of a complete plan for war, "the cause and origin of which should be the infringement of the Monroe Doctrine, and which should consist of an attack by a European nation upon the territory of South or Central America or adjacent islands."⁸⁵

In 1912 the General Board justified its shipbuilding program as support for our well-established policies of no entangling alliances, the Monroe Doctrine, the Open Door, Asiatic exclusion, and exclusive military control of the Panama Canal and contiguous waters. In its view, the size of the navy was not primarily related to the development of further American objectives. Rather, to what extent was America willing to support and defend existing national policies most threatened by Germany in the Atlantic and Japan in the Pacific?⁸⁶

The navy also held that the maintenance of national sovereignty and independence required a "closed cycle of industry," encompassing agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and transport and cable services among the different elements. All the territory necessary for this cycle did not have to be under the American flag, as long as we had friendly relations with the foreign lands concerned and possessed a navy able to control the trade routes to them. To the navy this meant an ability to deny control of Latin America to a major enemy as far south as the mouth of the Amazon and an offensive capability against the ocean trade routes of any aggressive power.⁸⁷ This naval view was at variance with the army's opinion that America could satisfy its economic needs at home. On the other hand, the army recognized that the market problem for our manufactures abroad involved a vital interest.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Revised draft of presentation made by Rear Admiral Taylor before the Joint Board, May 31, 1904, JB 325.

⁸⁵ JB Copy Book, June 10, 1904, 75-76.

⁸⁶ Memo, General Board to Secretary of the Navy, Sept. 25, 1912, sub: Building Program Outlined since 1903, in GB 438, Ser. 1088.

⁸⁷ General Board memo, Aug. 1920, *ibid.* This memo cited a General Board letter of 1901 which emphasized the navy's ability to hold the Caribbean but doubted if the Monroe Doctrine could be enforced below the mouth of the Orinoco River.

⁸⁸ WPD 80, cited in n. 32.

In preparing for the Washington Conference of 1921-1922, the navy studied the fundamental policies of the great powers and expressed its own view of international relations.³⁹ The four main American policies were no entangling alliances, the Monroe Doctrine, the Open Door, and the recently developed exclusion of Asiatics. The Open Door was understood to include China's territorial and political integrity and equal commercial and industrial opportunities there for all nations. The navy held that the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door had a vital feature in common—respect for national sovereignty. On the other hand, alien exclusion was justified on the grounds that internal development “free from any discordant foreign element is a supreme right,” completely distinct from the Open Door.

The navy categorized the major external problems as controversies between states of similar governments and ideals and issues between states of dissimilar foundations and ideals or different racial viewpoints and traditions. Disputes of the first type, essentially economic in character, were of increasing importance because nations came to depend on unmolested channels of trade and accessibility for their high living standards. Their very existence becomes involved as the tendency toward specialization increases. It was the task of governments to prevent commercial rivalries from finding expression on foreign soils and to resolve harmoniously the struggle for commercial control of world markets. Difficulties with Britain were considered amenable to settlement by arbitration, treaty, and commercial agreement if a spirit of harmony could be preserved. In arguing for permanent naval equality with Britain, however, the General Board observed that no war between two peoples or nations was “unthinkable.”⁴⁰

Issues between fundamentally dissimilar states, according to the navy, arose from policies of exploitation, conquest, or alliance. The last, a thinly veiled reference to the Anglo-Japanese alliance, was not considered as durable as friendly relations between democratic states, even when such connections were loose and informal. The issue of exploitation was applied specifically to Japan's ambitions in China, which were firmly denounced. Japan's claim of an Asian Monroe Doctrine was branded a spurious argument. Controversies in this category did not appear to be permanently adjustable, and it seemed that any settlement would have to be maintained by force.

Finally, the navy discussed sea power in the service of a democracy's

³⁹ The following is from the long study GB 438, Ser. 1088.

⁴⁰ General Board memo, July 15, 1921, *ibid.* It noted that the war of 1861 was not foreseen in 1830 and concluded that blood relations count for little. Otherwise the United States would have been exempt from wars with all nations it fought except Mexico.

foreign policy. A strategically isolated America could influence world affairs only by way of the sea, and so needed naval strength commensurate with its world position. It argued that the "silent pressure of sea power" could support diplomacy firmly and rapidly, adding that this was primarily a defensive weapon, serving aggressive purposes only when used to sustain a dominant commercial position or to exploit weaker peoples overseas. The development of both large land forces and great sea power, by contrast, was deemed evidence of aggressive interest. Finally, the study observed that, in time of war between great nations, naval power would play an important role because economic pressure and blockades were vital weapons in such a struggle.

After the First World War, the nation's isolationist attitude toward Europe was faithfully reflected in the thoughts and plans of the military strategists, though they were keenly aware of the extent to which the balance of power and America's security had hinged upon events across the Atlantic. As General Summerall observed, "Had it not been for the British Navy and the Allied Army, the impression of the war that exists in America would be quite different."⁴¹ Similarly, the navy recognized that had the German navy been equal to Britain's, the results of the war might have been reversed with all Europe "dominated by Prussian ideals . . . and eventually America might have fallen."⁴² But it was also realized that France after 1918 wanted "American support in her European policies, which, if accorded, might involve us in an embarrassing situation."⁴³ Army planning ruled out the possibility of armed American intervention in Europe;⁴⁴ and in 1933 it could be categorically stated, "We have no plans for the invasion of any of these [great power] countries."⁴⁵ The intervention of 1917-1918 was treated as an accident, as were the eighteen months we had to prepare ourselves before facing German armies. The National Defense Act of 1920 was justified as applicable to "more normal circumstances, those in which we would have to depend upon ourselves. . . ."⁴⁶

Toward the end of the 1920's, under the pressure of new budget cuts,

⁴¹ Memo, C of S to DC of S, Aug. 3, 1929, sub: Study of Value of Coast Defense, WPD

3345.

⁴² Naval study of Sept. 12, 1921, GB 438, Ser. 1088, cited in n. 25.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ For an early exposition of the defensive cast of our planning, see two WPD studies of 1922: National Defense in Readiness, WPD 598; National Position of Readiness, WPD 670.

⁴⁵ Memo, WPD to the Special Committee of the General Council, Sept. 15, 1933, sub: Summary of Plans Submitted by the Chief of the Air Corps for the Defense of the U. S. with Comments on Selected Points, WPD 888-75.

⁴⁶ In statement prepared by Colonel Embick for C of S in 1927, AG 011 (12-29-26) (1) Sec. 1.

the army intensified its quest for efficient organization.⁴⁷ It studied the causes of war, the international situation, and the policies of the United States, to determine their effect on the army's mission and size. General George Simonds, director of WPD, also ordered a review of our major national policies—neutral maritime rights, the Monroe Doctrine, the Platt Amendment, the Open Door in China, and the Japanese immigration issue. WPD followed the traditional view in tracing the causes of war to conflicts of national policy arising from questions affecting vital interests. National policies themselves were rooted in experience, growing out of the “moral, economic, and political influences in the lives of countries and peoples.”⁴⁸ Causes for conflict were categorized as political, economic, racial, and moral.

The Simonds study noted that political wars often had economic influences, such as expansion due to population pressure, as underlying causes. War could also result from problems concerning racial minorities or be deliberately started by a weak government seeking internal unity. Such wars were described as aggressive and imperialistic, of a kind not undertaken by the United States, an isolated state which did not suffer from such tensions. Our rise to world power, however, created new rivalries abroad and increased our concern regarding economic and moral causes of war. “Economic questions have been in the past the fundamental cause of much of the strife that has gone on in the world.”⁴⁹ WPD noted, however, that economic questions tended to be settled by other means than war. With the world so interdependent, a solution by war was considered less likely to benefit either side, as the world war showed.

But, the Simonds study continued, certain principles of human existence matter more than economic gain in the history of every people who have become a great nation. For these they will fight bitterly and make great sacrifices. Our people, it was argued, were more likely to go to war over moral outrage than for economic causes, especially since moral issues are so difficult to settle by agreement, compromise, or outside arbitration. “No great moral issue has ever been definitely settled except through the method of war, the last resort when all else fails.”⁵⁰ Our own wars were classified as moral and economic (the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Spanish-American War, the world war); racial and economic (the Indian and Mexican Wars); moral (the Civil War).

⁴⁷ See WPD 3311, cited in n. 19, and WPD study, July, Aug. 1929, sub: Survey of the Military Establishment, WPD 3345.

⁴⁸ The following discussion is based on WPD 3311 Sec. IV, General World Outlook.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

National policies then were not arbitrary mandates directed aggressively at others but were lines of conduct pursued as a nation's best interest. Violation of and violence to these policies created the greatest likelihood of war and so WPD turned to our own foreign policies for guidance. The vital historical issues were grouped into five major categories: (1) Maritime rights of neutrals were fundamental in the struggle of the 1790's, 1812, and the world war. In light of the great development of foreign trade and our aloofness from alliances, these principles were "a cause of war of constantly increasing likelihood. . . . Failure to settle the question constitutes the crux of the problem of our present rivalry with the world's other great naval powers." (2) The Monroe Doctrine, called wholly defensive in character, embodied the principles determined upon to safeguard American national interests with relation to the Eastern as well as the Western Hemisphere. The danger of war with a European power on this count was evident in 1863, 1895, and 1902. Its major contemporary importance was focused on the Panama and proposed Nicaraguan Canals, whose purpose was to strengthen our defenses and extend advantageous trade routes to South America. (3) The Open Door in China gave rise to a serious problem of defense in sustaining existing state policy. Related to this was the quiescent Japanese immigration issue which might again be raised when the United States became embarrassed by other critical international involvements. Our Philippine base was vulnerable, but with "potentiality as an outpost of trade at the gateway to the great underdeveloped resources and trade possibilities of eastern Asia." (4) Foreign debt and trade rivalries comprised the most important issue after these three specific ones. First, debtor states presented a united front against the United States. More significantly, the debt was symptomatic of our growth in wealth and industry, placing us ahead of all others in the expansion of our foreign trade.⁵¹ Historically, "ascendancy in world trade, coupled as it must be with a growth in sea power for its maintenance, has always been a great potential cause of war." (5) The press and public opinion, when inflamed, formed a potential cause of unexpected war even though the government was seeking a settlement.

Studies in the late 1920's concluded that the situation was then calm, with no issue calling for immediate military preparation. But since the United States had clearly defined national policies conflicting with those of other countries, the chance of war still existed.

⁵¹ In plans drawn up in the late 1920's these economic factors were given prime importance as the likely cause of war. American encroachments on the foreign trade of other maritime powers, threatening standards of living and potential economic ruin, are cited as the causes of war in these plans.

During the 1920's and the first half of the 1930's, the power of the airplane did not have a major impact on strategic thinking about national policy. The planners felt that the flying range and carrying capacity of even the latest aircraft did not create special problems or opportunities. Regarding continental defense, the army believed that the weapon could be handled primarily within the framework of the major war plans. Planners made allowance for the destructive capabilities of existing aircraft, including carrier-borne types, both in developing war plans and organizing harbor and coastal defenses.⁵² They concentrated, however, upon protection against combined-arms attacks, rather than a sudden air assault alone. WPD and the Air Corps vigorously disputed this point as well as the deployment and use of air components to meet major attacks. But the entire argument was couched in terms of an isolationist America defending itself against aggression.⁵³

The major administrative disputes of the period were over the boundary line between army and navy jurisdictions in continental defense and the degree of autonomy to be enjoyed by the Air Service, reorganized as the Air Corps in 1927, within the army. Basically, the navy enjoyed primary jurisdiction over the oceans; within the army, the Air Corps was enjoined from formulating basic policies of its own, though it had representation on General Staff planning agencies.⁵⁴ Again the relatively primitive level of technology played a powerful role, but these administrative decisions aided in slowing the rate of development still more. The old restrictions did not disappear until the late 1930's, when the B-17 prototype effected a strategic breakthrough in flying range and carrying capacity, and so in planning concepts.

Events of the 1930's destroyed the calm atmosphere of normalcy. Japan's rise sharply revealed the gap between our interests and commitments in light of the forces and policies we had fashioned to sustain them. With troops in China and the Philippines, an Asiatic fleet, a war plan against Japan, and an entire Pacific strategy at stake, the army and the navy reexamined basic American policies. They had to bear in mind such political questions as the Open Door and the future of the new Philippine Commonwealth, and relate them to the world situation and American obligations elsewhere. The result

⁵² See, for example, memos, AC of S WPD to C of S, Mar. 8, 1928, and the reply, DC of S to AC of S WPD, Mar. 9, 1923, sub: Harbor Defenses, WPD 1105; and memo, Major General Andrew Hero, CAC [Coast Artillery Corps] to AG, Mar. 18, 1929, sub: Antiaircraft Defense, AG 381 (2-16-26).

⁵³ See WPD 888-75, cited in n. 45.

⁵⁴ The files on these administrative disputes are voluminous. See, for example, the WPD 888 files, and, regarding the Joint Army and Navy Aeronautical Board, AG 334.3 and 580.1. For a summary of the interservice dispute, see memo, WPD to Assistant Secretary of War, Aug. 27, 1937, sub: Relations between the Army and the Navy, WPD 3740-1, Appendix C. For a general discussion of this problem, see Major Lawrence J. Legere, "Unification of the Armed Forces" (doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1950).

was a sharp disagreement between the services in defining American interests and future policies.⁵⁵

On November 26, 1935, the JPC noted that our policy toward Japan had weakened over the past two decades. It added that the current policy could force America into an unsuccessful war.⁵⁶ In the split over what to do, the army emerged with an isolationist doctrine. It wanted to leave China and drop the burden of the Philippines, for it did not consider the Western Pacific a vital area in terms of American interests. The navy sought to continue our commitments there, maintaining that the area was worth fighting for and that the basic strategic plan was sound and feasible. A strongly worded army draft statement put the issue squarely.⁵⁷ Starting in a manner reminiscent of General Bliss in 1904, Colonel Walter Krueger stressed the accidental nature of our acquisition of the Philippines. The premise behind our policy was that the Philippines were of great economic and strategic importance to us. This view Krueger challenged, holding that the economic value never materialized. In fact, he called the policy of 1898 a sharp divergence from the obvious and natural path along which our future lay, adding "that this departure might and in all probability would produce a clash with a power into whose natural domain of expansion we had accidentally strayed." He felt that phrases like the "open door," "American interests," and "trade expansion" had become mere repetition and dogma which guided our policy.

The immediate issue at hand, whether to retain a naval base in the Philippines, raised the question of the purpose of such bases. Generally, bases were required for the operation of naval forces in light of strategic requirements. Krueger held that of the two essentials of sea power, the merchant marine and the fleet, the former was the real source of power, relying on the latter for protection. Bases in turn served the fleet. "But a fleet and naval bases without a merchant marine become an anachronism." Britain, with world trade routes and bases, needed a fleet of equal proportions, but America was a continental power whose vital lines of communication were practically confined to the Western Hemisphere. Therefore a base in the far Pacific, given our small merchant marine and the low vulnerability of its essential lines of communication, could only serve an offensive mission. He called the argument of the "greater navy advocates" that our fleet was primar-

⁵⁵ The following discussion is based upon the study made in 1935-1936, Military (including Naval) Position in the Far East, JB 305, Ser. 573, as well as the accompanying JPC Development File.

⁵⁶ Memo, JPC to JB, *ibid.*, Development File.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, WPD draft prepared by Colonel Walter Krueger, Oct. 28, 1935, sub: Our Policy in the Philippines.

ily our first line of defense "an expensive delusion." This function was incidental to the main task of gaining and maintaining command of the seas and communication lines vital to the homeland. A fleet larger than one required for this purpose, he concluded, became an expensive luxury and a tool that might serve an aggressive purpose.⁵⁸

He described our strategic position as very strong since we enjoyed potential hegemony in the New World. Then, in tones remarkably similar to Charles Beard's contemporary study *The Idea of the National Interest*, Krueger stated,

Properly directed, the energies of our people can be fully absorbed in that hemisphere for many generations to come. It is practically self-supporting and could be assailed from overseas with the greatest difficulty only. Granted reasonable naval and military preparedness on our part, it is virtually invulnerable.

He depicted Japan as anxious to avoid a war unless goaded, adding, "War on the Atlantic side is even more unlikely, unless again we leave the sphere in which our future virtually lies." To Krueger the decision to free the Filipinos enabled us to attain a perfect solution by "washing our hands of the Philippines once they become independent, and not to retain even a coaling station, to say nothing of a naval base there."⁵⁹

He later broadened his argument to include the whole Far East where America's position, never very strong against Japan, had become so progressively weakened since 1920 as to be untenable.⁶⁰ We might have successfully challenged Japan's quest for hegemony at one time, but it was now too late to do so. Since none of our interests in the Far East were vital, Krueger felt that war in their defense could not be justified. The forces we had in the Philippine Islands were too weak to resist serious attack, and the small garrison in China had only irritant value. He therefore called for total withdrawal from the Philippines even before independence was granted. Larger state policies naturally governed in China, but he warned that the State Department should clearly realize that its policy of keeping a garrison there would probably lead to war.

General Stanley Embick was another leading army planner who, with Krueger, played a dominant role in WPD during the interwar period. He too reflected the prevailing American mood of isolationism and looked upon any postindependence commitment to the Philippines as a retention of a

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ WPD memo, Dec. 5, 1935, sub: Re-examination of Our Military (including Naval) Position in the Far East, JB 305, Ser. 573, JPC Development File. See also n. 65.

hazardous front-line trench against Tokyo's southward advance.⁶¹ And he too saw no vital American stake here, and warned against being maneuvered by interested European nations into bearing the brunt of the first resistance to a Japanese assault. Embick regarded American national policy as standing for peace and the avoidance of entanglements that might lead to war. A military commitment to the Philippines was therefore the gravest threat to that policy, and the decision to grant freedom was a graceful way out. Britain, he argued, had an artificially created empire, dependent upon a colonial structure. It had to remain at Singapore and fight to defend that key base. The American position, that of the most self-contained nation in the world with inconsequential interests in the Far East, was exactly the reverse. "Our vital interests continue to lie in the continental United States. This fact must be the fundamental premise in the formulation of our military (including Naval) policy." With a peacetime frontier in the Pacific along the Alaska-Hawaii-Panama line "our vital interests will be invulnerable."⁶² This paper was submitted to the President and, on April 16, 1936, Embick added that "the conclusion contained therein has been concurred in without qualification by the following, viz: Generals [Malin] Craig, [George] Simonds, [Dennis] Nolan, Fox Connor, [Paul] Malone, [George] Mosely, [Preston] Brown and [Herbert] Brees."⁶³ It thus served as an authoritative summary of the army's position during the inconclusive discussions held that year.

A third army planner, Colonel Sherman Miles, arrived at similar conclusions by an empirical analysis of American foreign policy.⁶⁴ Recognizing that military policy must be subordinate to national policy, he sought to determine what that was in Asia. Our desires seemed to include the integrity of China, the Open Door, the development of Filipino nationalism and independence, the protection of American lives and interests, and a general support of the *status quo* south of Siberia. We were, however, willing to employ only diplomatic means to attain these goals. Miles wryly observed that we sought, at times quixotically, to be friends of China and Japan, and cooperated with European powers in Asia to a far greater extent than was

⁶¹ WPD memo, Dec. 2, 1935, sub: Military Aspects of the Situation That Would Result from the Retention by the United States of a Military (including Naval) Commitment in the Philippine Islands, JB 305, Ser. 573, JPC Development File.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Appendix A, Defense of the Philippine Islands by the United States. He favored a multilateral treaty of neutralization of the Philippines and a local defense force geared to maintain internal order only. This plan was detailed in Appendix B, Military System for the Philippine State.

⁶³ JB 305, Ser. 573, JPC Development File.

⁶⁴ WPD memo, probably mid-Dec. 1935, sub: U. S. Military Position in the Far East, JB 305, Ser. 573, JPC Development File.

our custom. But we would not use force to advance our objectives, apart from protecting American lives. As Japan rose in power and the requirement to use force correspondingly mounted, our unwillingness became more evident. All our Far Eastern objectives were therefore jeopardized because, though the United States grew in potential military power, it was "not as a kinetic force in the Far East."⁶⁵ To Miles it was clear that our objectives were incompatible with their implementation.

We cannot indefinitely sustain and protect our objectives against an aggressive imperialism based on force without the use of force. But our unwillingness to use force is as much a part of our national policy as is our desire to sustain and protect our objectives. Ultimately, therefore, a choice must be made between the two incompatible parts of our national policy. . . . There can be little doubt that the nation now feels that we have no interests in the Far East, except the lives of our people, worth a war, and that we have no intention of bringing on such a war.

This he considered to be our true policy, the one to which our military policy should be geared. A complete withdrawal from the Western Pacific was therefore in order, unless we reversed a national policy of several decades, decided to use force, and sent adequate military formations to that area. All of this Miles believed to be highly unlikely.

The army position can be traced to several factors. Sensitive to the surrounding intellectual and political environment, the planners responded to the strongly isolationist current of the time. This found reflection in the hypotheses that the New World was the universe of our national interest and that there literally were no other interests vital enough to fight over. A second conditioning element was the fact that only War Plan ORANGE against Japan was in effect at that particular moment. To stress this plan to the exclusion or deemphasis of other considerations disturbed the army on two counts. It meant a reorientation of budgetary allocations and force structures in favor of a navy-dominated Pacific effort at a time when funds were extremely scarce. And, there appeared to be something dangerous about carrying a war immediately across the Pacific, as the plan provided.⁶⁶ The army felt that obligations toward the Philippines were forcing controlling political considerations into a vital military question.

The army wished our strength to be deployed in a balanced fashion, prepared for any critical emergency involving our vital interests. If we were

⁶⁵ Miles cited the Lansing-Ishii notes following the Twenty-One Demands, our rejection of the League of Nations in good part because of the military commitments it implied, the 1922 treaties, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the Stimson notes, our self-limitation to naval reservation and fueling stations after the Philippines became free, and the total lack of interest to stand firm against more recent threats to China's integrity.

⁶⁶ Appendix A, Study by General Embick, cited in n. 59.

ready in the Atlantic and the Eastern Pacific as the crisis developed, we could be free to concentrate in either area, depending on the turn of events. As the Axis danger mounted during 1936–1938, the threat to the New World gave more credence to this outlook.

In 1935, however, the navy's appraisal of American foreign policy objectives led it to a series of opposite conclusions. The General Board traditionally regarded our outlying main and secondary bases as vital supports of existing American policies.⁶⁷ These remained: the Open Door, the territorial integrity of China, the protection of American nationals and economic rights, and the protection of the Philippines regardless of its eventual status. To give up a base in the Western Pacific, the navy felt, meant a decision not to support these policies or remain a factor in that area's development.⁶⁸ The President's view in 1935 that a base in an independent Philippine state would be a liability led the navy WPD to undertake a broad study to justify its stand.⁶⁹

Like the army members of the JPC, the navy planners considered our national policies to be the governing factors.⁷⁰ In the Far East and the Pacific they were enumerated as follows:

Policy	Purpose
Participation in the Pacific	To maintain the <i>status quo</i> and preserve the general peace and balance of power in the Pacific.
Integrity of China	To maintain the rights, interests, and territorial integrity of China.
Open Door in China	To promote intercourse between China and other powers on the basis of equal opportunity.
League of Nations mandates	To protect the rights of the United States regarding joint rights in mandates; to prevent the assumption of

⁶⁷ General Board to Secretary of the Navy, GB 404, Ser. 1683, Apr. 16, 1935, in JB 305, Ser. 573, JPC Development File.

⁶⁸ Secretary Claude Swanson to the President, Op—12B—CTB 4/18 (SC) A 16/GH (Pacific), Apr. 22, 1935, in JB 305, Ser. 573, JPC Development File.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, President to Secretary Swanson, May 3, 1935. See accompanying memo by Captain George Meyers to the General Board, stressing the need for a complete statement of arguments in favor of retaining a naval base.

⁷⁰ Commander Arthur Carpender for the JPC, Op—12B—CTB, Dec. 17, 1935, sub: Examination of U. S. Military (including Naval) Position in the Far East, JB 305, Ser. 573, JPC Development File.

	sovereignty by states holding mandates.
Limitations of armaments	To eliminate naval competition and further peace by an equitable ratio and removal of friction and fear.
Freedom of the seas	To safeguard our rights at sea in accordance with existing international law.
Neutrality	To preserve the rights of the neutral under existing international law.
Political isolation	To prevent entangling alliances.

The navy held the task of military policy to be the study of forces needed to support national policies. It justified using existing declaratory policy as its point of departure, holding that if "the national policy in the Far East is clouded the necessary military steps must be taken which will support that policy, regardless what it is or may turn out to be."⁷¹ It recognized that serious conflict existed with Japan on the first five points and that there was dissension within the United States regarding the last three items. It asked for a clear-cut decision to withdraw or to maintain our strength in the Far East. Above all, the navy sought to avoid a middle course, the path of the greatest danger. It stood firmly against withdrawal and opposed yielding a geographic barrier against what it termed the yellow race's usurpation of the white man's place in the Far East, with the consequent desertion of the European and Commonwealth powers there.⁷² A return to isolation would, the navy contended, leave Britain to play a lone hand against Japan, leave China to its fate, abandon the Philippines in their experiment at self-government, deny our commercial interests encouragement and support in the Orient trade, encourage Japan to extend and accelerate its domination of the Far East and world markets, and, finally, weaken our international standing and influence in Europe and Latin America.

The navy held that such a policy ran counter to the interests and wishes of the people, who, moreover,

will never throw the Philippines to the lions. . . . It is believed and assumed that our existing national policies in the Far East and in the Pacific must and will be maintained; that our diplomacy must be directed towards that end on the funda-

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

mentally sound basis of right; that force must be used if and when diplomacy fails.⁷³

The navy also defended the strategy of carrying the fight to the Western Pacific and forcing a decision there.

Many people simply attempt to visualize what effect the retention of our existing national policies would have as a provocation of war; a defeatist attitude pure and simple, in which the national prestige is subordinated to the insane desire to avoid war at any cost. . . . [This attitude is] an affront to the diplomat and military man, who know full well that our policies are sound and that our power to enforce them exists.⁷⁴

A split paper submitted to the Joint Board by the JPC with two sets of conclusions and recommendations was the final result. The army asked for the withdrawal of our forces from the Philippines upon independence and an exit from China as soon as possible. The navy agreed that any element not needed in China could be withdrawn, but proposed that no decision affecting our dispositions in the Philippines after independence be made at this time. The paper was filed, its arguments soon overtaken by the rise of a German-Japanese menace to the New World.

With the rise of the Fascist powers in Europe, the more prudent Asian position advocated by the army gradually prevailed. By 1938, planning emphasized the contingency of a threat stemming from either ocean, or a simultaneous challenge from both directions. The resultant study was a highly competent and thorough analysis of this problem in which the JPC again presented a unified view. After the Munich crisis, the planners saw the possibility of German-Italian penetration of the New World while Britain and France remained neutral. Since our forces were not prepared to protect the entire Western Hemisphere and our Pacific possessions simultaneously, an order of priority had to be established. The ultimate threat to American security was believed to be the establishment of Axis bases in South America, followed by extension of military control over certain developed areas of that continent. Compared to this challenge, the loss of Guam or the Philippines was not a surrender of our vital interests, although admittedly a great blow to our prestige and an indication of failure in our sovereign responsibilities.

It was also evident that such losses in the Pacific, if permanent, would deprive us of a base for action, signify an end to any physical support for the Open Door in China, and limit our share of the China trade to remnants, at Japan's convenience. But, it was added, since our people had con-

⁷³ Op—12B—CTB, Navy draft, Jan. 14, 1936, JB 305, Ser. 573, JPC Development File.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

tinually placed our Far Eastern interests at the mercy of Japanese good faith since 1922, they could not have considered these interests as vital. Further proof was evident in our refusal to fortify the Philippines and Guam after Japan denounced the naval treaties in 1935. These expressions of national policy, it was noted, overrode such military and naval opinion which was allowed to be expressed.

By 1940, following the fall of France, our general national interest came to be identified to an unprecedented extent in military security terms. Since our armed power was increasing, the planners began to think more hopefully of taking a stand in both oceans. The JPC identified our national objectives in December 1940 as the preservation of the territorial, economic, and ideological integrity of the United States and of the remainder of the Western Hemisphere; prevention of the disruption of the British Empire and the consequences of such an eventuality; and opposition to the extension of Japanese rule over additional territory, while protecting our economic and political interests in the Far East.

The relative importance of these objectives was reflected in this order of presentation. Isolationism and the popular notion that the oceans themselves were adequate protective moats died hard and continued to influence the political debate over the substance of our national policy. Meanwhile, to the extent that our military power and international position permitted, our planners endeavored to attain these three major goals.

Social Riots on the Christian-Moslem Frontier (Thirteenth-Century Valencia)

R. IGNATIUS BURNS, S.J.*

IT is easier to start than to stop a crusade. To focus the discontents and fears of a people upon a concrete object, to release their enthusiasm for adventure and direct them in physical activity toward some open enemy, and to justify the material profits that accrue—all this will help to keep a war moving nicely forward. But distinctions between leaders and led, deeds and subjective guilt of the doer, combatant and civilian, justice and charity, tend to become blurred. When the moment of activity has passed, it is not easy to restore the balance.

Seven hundred years ago King James of Aragon had to face this problem. He had conquered the large Moslem kingdom of Valencia (1232-1245) and was consolidating his gains. A hostile neighbor had suddenly been transformed into a useful subject, a source of profit to the crown.¹ But Moslem and Christian represented antipathetic social groups. It is the purpose of this article to study some of the implications of this fact, and to establish the fact itself more clearly. It is of course obvious that Moslem and Christian represented different religions, each of them exclusive; it is only to be expected, too, that the long warfare of the Reconquest had raised psychological barriers between the two groups. But it is equally clear that they mixed together in a sort of rough acceptance of each other, that many of their folkways and externals of life were the same, and that the warfare had often enough been productive of a certain mutual respect and even at times of admiration. Which of these elements is to be stressed? How are the counterbalancing

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¹ Accounts of the crusade will be found in such standard works as Ferrán Soldevila, *Història de Catalunya* (3 vols., Barcelona, 1934-35); Ferrán Valls-Taberner and Ferrán Soldevila, *Historia de Cataluña* in the *Obras de Valls-Taberner* (2 vols., Barcelona, 1955-57); Frederic Moscardó Cervera, *Breu compendi de la història de Valencia* (Valencia, 1953); H. J. Chaytor, *A History of Aragon and Catalonia* (London, 1933); and in the more ample histories of Spain such as Ferrán Soldevila, *Historia de España* (6 vols. to date, Barcelona, 1952-57 ff.), and in English, R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New* (4 vols., New York, 1918-34). There are standard lives of James I by Ch. de Tourtoulon, J. Darwin Swift, and Charles R. Beazley, as well as a recent short biography by Ferrán Soldevila, *Jaume I, Pere El Gran, els grans reis del segle XIII* (Barcelona, 1955). A good introduction to the organization of the reconquered areas is J. M. Font Rius, *Instituciones medievales españolas, la organización política, económica y social de los reinos cristianos de la reconquista* (Madrid, 1949).

factors to be related to the total picture? Do we have here a single people, divided only by religion, or driven apart by their leaders? Or is it a case of two peoples steeped in mutual contempt, each wishing the other expelled from the land, each resentful of the alien intrusion? Or, finally, did the two groups dwell in amity, the conqueror fairly tolerating the conquered, and even finding for him a place in the scheme of Christian society? For the kingdom and period we are about to examine, the answer given to our question by scholars today more usually runs to this last solution. The present article wishes to qualify that solution considerably.

It will be understood, of course, that the problem is here being studied at one of its roots: that is, in a local context and at a definite time, the kingdom of Valencia in the thirteenth century. Any wider synthesis must await more such local studies, or risk being a subjective impression. It is not, moreover, the entire problem that is here examined but, rather, a key factor of the problem. We shall attempt to show that there existed in fact a serious and widespread rioting against the Moslems of Valencia in, or not long after, 1276; that this trouble should not be identified with the brigandage, or with the municipal rioting, or even simply with the contemporary Moslem revolt, which have hitherto obscured the evidence and discouraged its being properly assembled; and that the extent of the rioting, and the little that can be deduced as to its nature, when conjoined with the other evidences of bad feeling between the groups, should suggest fresh positions from which to view and understand the complex of relations between the two groups at this time and place. The result need not cancel out the current conclusions as to tolerance and harmony, but perhaps a new balance may be struck, incorporating both theses.

In the conquered kingdom of Valencia the Moor seems to have persisted in the popular imagination as somehow alien, a subject for harassment and even for robbery. That the situation was general and existed from the early years of the conquest is suggested by a document of 1236 from the Vatican archives. By that date King James I had subdued the northern third of the Moslem kingdom, had secured its defenses, had parceled out its estates and small properties, had arranged to have the Moslems remain in their own communities under their own law, religion, and administrators, had achieved a daring raid or military promenade deep into the remaining enemy territory, and was prepared to move in a final drive upon the capital city Valencia. During the month after the receipt of the document of which we speak, a national assembly would convene at Monzón to rally all resources for that offensive.

King James, with three years' experience already in the administration of the northern area of Valencia, as well as with a similar experience in the Balearics, had had the foresight to appeal to Pope Gregory IX for a decree of protection for the Moslems who were becoming his subjects. This action indicates the seriousness of the need and the apprehension of future violence. Gregory replied in a communication to the church of Saragossa:

We have received notice of the devout zeal which inflames Our dear son in Christ, the honorable king of Aragon, for the glory and exaltation of the Christian name. We support this champion of Christ, as is right, and favor him with Our blessing. And We grant to him the help required in his conquest of the pagans. Acceding to his plea, therefore, We command that whatever Saracens on his borders should happen to be conquered, either by force or by way of surrender, you are by no means to allow them to be harmed in person or in property. [But] evil-doers of this sort [are to be punished].²

Later (1238) the metropolitan of Tarragona, with his suffragan bishops of Vich, Huesca, Barcelona, Tortosa, and Saragossa, published an excommunication *latae sententiae* against those in James's realms who maltreated, without express license of the King, places occupied by Moslem subjects.³

During the period of reconstruction in conquered Valencia there was not only an underlying mutual antipathy between the two peoples, but also of course a considerable amount of fraternization and mixing. Even to designate them as separate peoples, in a scientific sense, is inaccurate. The cleavage lay rather in traditions and customs, in two different ways of life and views of man, in subtle perceptions of one's own group separateness, sometimes in language and costume, and of course in religion. In a declaration of crown protection granted to a Valencian Moslem in 1259, it is significant to note that King James explained the need for the document simply: "because you are a Saracen."⁴

In point of origin perhaps, the element of religion underlay all the other

² Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 18 (Gregory IX), fol. 184v, ep. 191 (Aug. 11, 1236). "Episcopo, archidiacono et thesaurario Cesaraugustanis. Exposito nobis devotionis zelo quo fervet karissimus in Christo filius noster illustris rex Aragonum ad gloriam et exaltationem nominis christiani merito eum tanquam Christi athletam in gratia benedictionis prosequimur et super subiciendis incredulis favorem sibi necessarium impartimur. Ipsius itaque preces inclinati mandamus quatenus si quos sue frontarie Sarracenos coactos vel voluntarios eiusdem regis dominio contigerit subiugari vos temere molestari eos in personis vel rebus nullatenus permittatis molestatores huiusmodi etc. Quod si non omnes etc." The terms "Saracen" and "Moor" were used of these people interchangeably, as I use them here.

³ Juan Luis de Moncada, *Episcopologio de Vich.*, ed. Jaime Collell (2 vols., Vich, 1891-94; supplementary vol. by L. B. Nadal, 1904), I, 597-98, citing a document of Oct. 17, 1238, from the archiepiscopal archives of Tarragona.

⁴ Archivo de la Corona de Aragón [the archives of James's realms, hereafter cited as Arch. Crown], James I, Reg. Canc. 11, fol. 157v (Dec. 21, 1259); "quia es Sarracenus." On the basic racial unity of both peoples, see, e.g., E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane* (3 vols., Cairo-Leiden, 1944-53), III, 180 ff.

elements implied by the name Saracen or Moor. But it was not in itself the focus of prejudice. A Christian Moor would be no safer in time of rioting than was his Moslem brother. During the rioting of 1276 in the city of Valencia, no distinction was made between the two; the Christian Moors lost "all" their possessions.⁵ Similarly, in 1276, the converted Moors of Sollana, Almusafes, and Benifayó were driven from their houses, and properties and had to be restored by royal order. In 1242, 1262, 1263, 1275, and 1276, King James had to legislate for the protection of the Christian Moors' property and legal rights in the kingdom of Valencia. He insisted that these neo-Christians were not to be denied the privileges enjoyed by other Christians, and that the Valencians should not "molest them nor permit them to be molested by anyone."⁶ From motives of economic gain, there was some opposition even to the conversion of the Moslems. Raymond Lull, who was familiar with the Valencian situation in his courtier days, and with the analogous situation on his native Majorca, reprimands contemporary Christians for refusing to treat converted Moslems as brothers. He was sure that many would be converted "if the Christians did them [the converts] not dishonour."⁷

In this context, therefore, one may be excused for speaking of a group prejudice, that is, of a communal rather than of a purely religious antagonism. Moslem and Christian in Valencia, for all their coexistence and assimilation, represented antagonistic group psychologies. As an interpretation of Moslem-Christian relations in Valencia, this thesis is revisionist, but the discovery of widespread rioting, and of the circumstances that modified it, makes this revision necessary. Previous interpretations have tended to divide between an older theory of intolerance and religious persecution in Valencia,⁸

⁵ Arch. Crown, Peter III [II of Aragon, I of Valencia], Reg. Canc. 38, fol. 72 (Oct. 26, 1276). For a map and discussion of the Moslem quarter of the city of Valencia, see José Rodrigo Pertegás, "La morería de Valencia, ensayo de descripción topograficohistórica de la misma," *Boletín de la real academia de la historia*, LXXXVI (Jan.-Mar. 1925), 229-51. Moslem cities were usually a central medina with a number of separate suburbs; one of these, just beyond the city walls, was given to the Valencian Moslems. By Christian Moors in this paper, converts are meant rather than Mozarabs; the latter do not appear in our documentation, and their number at this time in the kingdom of Valencia was probably negligible, though the point is moot.

⁶ Arch. Crown, Peter III, Reg. Canc. 38, fol. 72 (Oct. 26, 1276), a different document from the one just cited. See my study on the problems of conversion in Valencia, "Journey from Islam: Incipient Cultural Transition in the Conquered Kingdom of Valencia (1240-1280)," *Speculum*, XXXV (July 1960), 337-56.

⁷ Quoted in E. A. Peers, *Ramón Lull, A Biography* (London, 1929), 75.

⁸ José Antonio Conde writes of the Valencian Moslems in 1247, for example: "los Muslimes que vivían en el reino de Valencia no pudiendo sufrir las cargas y vejaciones de los Christianos, cansados de su abatimiento y servidumbre, se retiraron así de Valencia como de otras ciudades y aldeas" of the kingdom of Valencia (*Historia de la dominación de los Árabes* [Madrid, 1874], 269). A sampling of older opinions may be had, for example, by reading H. C. Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain, Their Conversion and Expulsion* (London, 1901), introductory chap.; and C. R. Beazley, *James the First of Aragon* (Oxford, Eng., 1890), 45, 54, 239, 253.

a modern theory of tolerance and harmony,⁹ and an intermediate theory of practical tolerance under James I and Peter, which gave way, under such successors as James II, to the unrelenting pressure of fanaticism on the part of religious leaders.

It is today apparent that a philosophy of tolerance toward the Moslem had already been evolved, though incorporating fatal flaws, by the clerical theorists and by the lawyers, and that *pari passu* a pattern of practical tolerance had developed in the Catalan-Aragonese kingdom. Theory and practice complemented, and had probably mutually influenced, each other. The popes tended to follow the lead of local authorities in their instructions in practical affairs, while these local authorities naturally changed their attitudes to fit the complex of changing circumstances. We have just seen pope, king, and bishops demanding that Moslem subjects be protected; some fifteen years later, after the revolts, we find townsmen, king, and bishops overriding baronial opposition against expelling these same Moslems.

Recognizing the complexity of the situation, and aware of the current emphasis on harmonious relations between the two peoples, we may now suggest a modification of this interpretation. In a healthy society, which had effected considerable progress in the humane treatment of non-Christian minorities, there was an ugly substratum of popular prejudice, mutual, pent-up, and dangerous. This is an important, and to us perhaps instructive, aspect of social relations of the era.

Nothing betrays the tensions between the two peoples more clearly than the terrible riots that swept the kingdom of Valencia in 1275 or 1276. A careful survey of the documentation surviving in the Crown archives at Barcelona proves sufficiently the reality of the troubles and something of their general nature. These records, though surely encountered by previous researchers, seem never to have been carefully studied and related. Conse-

⁹ "En ningún momento fueron objeto de incomprensión o intolerancia"; "los pueblos constituyeron una armónica unidad de intereses y de necesidades" (F. A. Roca Traver, "Un siglo de vida mudéjar en la Valencia medieval, 1238-1338," *Estudios de la corona de Aragón*, V [1952], 139, 162; see also 121, 126). Another scholar speaks of the Moslem and Christian Valencians being joined by an "osmosis tradicional" (Felipe Mateu i Llopis, "Consideraciones sobre nuestra Reconquista," *Hispania*, XI [Jan.-Mar. 1951], esp. 39-41). The only ample treatment of the Valencian Moslems by a modern author, besides the article by Roca Traver already given, is an able study by Miguel Gual Camarena, "Mudéjares valencianos, aportaciones para su estudio," *Saitabi* [University of Valencia], VII (July-Dec. 1949), 165-99. There are observations of course in the works of a number of competent scholars whose interests touch upon the subject tangentially, e.g., Joaquín Miret y Sans, *Les cases dels Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya, aplech de noves y documents històrics* (Barcelona, 1910), 146. Of lesser writings, still useful, we may cite especially Felipe Mateu i Llopis, "La repoblación musulmana del reino de Valencia en el siglo XIII y las monedas de tipo almohade," *Boletín de la sociedad castellonense de cultura*, XXVIII (Jan.-Mar. 1952), 29-43. The best general survey of Mudéjarism is by Isidro de las Cagigas, *Los Mudéjares* (2 vols., Madrid, 1948-49), with bibliography.

quently, their significance has been missed. The lapse is easily explained. The years 1275 and 1276 were a time of civil turmoil, of a serious Moslem rebellion, and of depredations by the raider Michael Pérez. Had these topics all been carefully studied, the rioting might have emerged as a separate phenomenon. In the absence of such study, evidence of Moslem-Christian troubles could too easily be dismissed as vaguely forming part and parcel of the civil disturbances.

Before turning to these disparate documents, some preliminary remarks on their contents may be useful. They are *post factum* records, concerned with exacting punishment from the towns involved. This, of course, implies a time lapse sufficient for complaints to be received, judicial inquiry set afoot, evidence gathered and presented, adverse judgment reached, and a penalty imposed. Sometimes a trial, or retrial perhaps, is just getting under way; in another case, appeal has been made to the Queen for clemency; elsewhere, a delay or an exemption is sought in paying the fine. The new kingdom of Valencia was oversupplied with lawyers, and here, as elsewhere in the realm, long litigation was a social plague. The legal processes seem to have centered upon each town individually, in a series of separate cases. At this time, moreover, King James was old and ailing, afflicted with many problems; the Moslem revolt bedeviled the last months of James's reign and the first year or more of his son Peter's reign (from early 1276 to late 1277). The actual dates of the documents therefore extend, according to their several circumstances, from 1276 over several years.

It is difficult to assign a time span to the rioting itself. It may have occurred with explosive simultaneity in many cities. More probably, a central series of rioting was succeeded by sporadic violence in lesser towns. It is not impossible that the troubles extended over two years, for example, over 1276 and 1277. But, as we have seen, it is not at all necessary to postulate such a spread in order to explain the dating of our notices. The central time would be late 1275 or early 1276. Several reasons commend this latter date. It would explain, if explanation is required, why the King's memoirs say nothing about the riots. It would offer the Moslem revolt as an understandable occasion to trigger the violence. And it is comfortably closer to the dates on our legal documents. Some may prefer 1275 for other reasons. It allows more time for the processes that intervened between rioting and document. It may perhaps, along the lines of remarks in the chronicle of Desclot, afford one of the occasions for the start of the Moslem revolt. And it does not place an arbitrary obstacle in the way of those who might still incline to relate the riots to the civil problems and the Pérez raids of 1275.

There are two terminal dates. The first is provided by the document of October 1276, which deplores the destruction of the Moslem properties in the capital city of Valencia and offers a tax exemption as a form of relief. An allied document of October 1276 refers to the rioting, which had occurred sometime in the past, in Onda and neighboring places. A similarly delimiting date, at the other extreme, could be the general amnesty of 1283, when King Peter, in the face of a more pressing international crisis, ordered a general pardon and an end to all the lawsuits. October and November 1278 are a more useful terminus; two general writs of that date refer to the rioting throughout the realm of Valencia. The gap may further be narrowed by arguing from the probable time lapse to be inferred from each individual document. But for our purposes the chronology is sufficiently precise. If the rioting was, even in part, subsequent to the outbreak of the Moslem revolt, one may reasonably assign a more important role in its motivation to fear, to mistrust, and to the passions of war.

The location and extent of the rioting, as given in our surviving records, is significant. Those documents which happened to be registered for the Crown archives should be regarded, of course, not as a fairly complete coverage but only as valuable clues, preserved for the historian by chance. From the royal registers alone, concerned more especially with crown property (though as persons all Moors could be said to be wards of the King),¹⁰ the riots are seen to have extended from Peñíscola and Oropesa, far in the north, to Cocentaina, far in the south; and from Valencia city on the coast, inland to Liria and Chelva. Since news from these towns has been so casually preserved, and since nonroyal documentation for this time has for the most part disappeared, and since no written traces need have been left by small places which promptly paid their fines or by country hamlets on the estates of feudal nobles, it is reasonable to believe that the rioting was much more extensive than might at first appear. Supporting this belief is a royal order of 1278 which speaks in a general way of rioting "in the kingdom of Valencia." This, and another royal edict, appoints agents to deal with certain effects of the rioting in the realm of Valencia as such.

Even without these reflections, the extant documents are impressive enough. It is of course to them that one must perforce turn for any detailed analysis. They locate the rioting in the central and northern part of

¹⁰ Some of the areas we shall discuss were seigneurial, where the King's interest will derive from crown claims over all Moors and from public order. But some of the Moslem communities were directly under the crown, e.g., the Moslem quarter of Valencia city (see James's statement when inviting Moors to settle there, in Arch. Crown, Reg. Canc. 15, fol. 81v [Feb. 26, 1267 or 1268—on such choices of dates, see n. 50]).

the kingdom, rather than in the less accessible and more dangerous south. They center them, not in the mountainous frontier areas nor in the area of Moslem rebel strength, but rather on the ribbon of coastal plain which has always been the most valuable and settled part of the kingdom. They reveal that the rioting was by townsmen and that it took place in settled and at least relatively secure urban centers. These towns are among the most important Christian settlements of this early period; they include, for example, Valencia, Alcira, Sagunto, Liria, Segorbe, Onda, and Oropesa. Guided by this organizational preface, we may now turn directly to the documentation.

A document of 1276 recalls that there was an "invasion and destruction of the Moorish quarter of Valencia" city.¹¹ From a document of early 1277 we learn that there has been trouble at Chelva and at Chulilla.¹² Damage to the Moors of Alcira had led the King (now Peter) to impose a large fine of fifteen thousand solidi as punishment. In 1278 this was reduced:

As a special favor, because of the importunity and pleas . . . of the Queen of Aragon, We absolve and remit to the corporation of inhabitants of Alcira five thousand solidi from those fifteen thousand solidi to which this community stood formally condemned by Us.¹³

In the same year a short note was sent to the officials and citizens of Alcira notifying them that Martin of Seta was to collect this fine there for the King.¹⁴ An exemption was addressed in 1278 to Martin himself: "We command that you do not compel P[eter] Fuster, a relative of Brother John of Calatayud . . . , to pay anything in connection with the said punishment."¹⁵ Rioters, moreover, had come in from surrounding towns as well. Three towns even pleaded that they were unable to go to the help of the Moors when Alcira was sacked:

We order you that if the men of Carcagente and of Ternils and of Algemés will suitably prove that they, at the time of the sack of the Alcira Moorish quarter, were not able to come to its help in time, you are not to compel them to contribute to the fine We have imposed.¹⁶

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Peter III, Reg. Canc. 38, fol. 72 (Oct. 26, 1276); "in invasione et destructione morerie Valencie." Recalled again in Reg. 40, fol. 69v (Feb. 16, 1277 or 1278): "ante barriugium"; and again in Reg. 48, fol. 70 (July 6, 1280).

¹² *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 39, fol. 184v (Apr. 10, 1277).

¹³ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 40, fol. 63 (Feb. 12, 1277 or 1278). "De gratia speciali ad instanciam et preces . . . Regine Aragonum absolvimus et remittimus universitati hominum de Algeçire quinque mille solidorum de istis quindecim milibus solidorum in quibus ipsa universitas nobis extitit propter sententiam condemnata."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 69 (Feb. 19, 1277 or 1278).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 76 (Mar. 26, 1278). "Mandamus vobis quatenus non compellatis P. Fuster cognatum fratris Iohannis de Calatayubo . . . ad solvendum aliquid ratione dicte condemnationis."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 78v (Apr. 1, 1278). "Mandamus vobis quod si homines de Carcexen et de

The knights of Alcira, either because they had not joined the citizenry in the sack or because of their influence with the King, were exempted from contributing to the fine.¹⁷ The amount demanded must have weighed heavily upon the small settlement. Peter eventually offered a general pardon (1279) for the sack of Alcira with its attendant robbery and damage.¹⁸ Significantly, the pardon includes as well damage done in the other communities of the Alcira countryside. An interesting item is that officials of the crown who were guilty could not take advantage of the pardon!

We hear also of a sack by the folk of Segorbe against the Moors of Castelnovo:

Peter . . . to his loyal Bartholomew of Ossal lawyer of Valencia, health and favor. We order that you institute an investigation into the looting which is said to have been committed by the men of Segorbe on the possessions of Saracens in Castelnovo.¹⁹

A later document shows us that this legal action had been due to the initiative of an important baron, Berengar of Entenza, whose interests in Castelnovo had been affected. Bartholomew turned the case over to the doctor of laws, Albert of Lavania, after the preliminary investigation, and the case was heard and appealed. The commune of Segorbe was represented by Diego of Santa Cruz. After the trials had dragged on for almost a year, Berengar simply ceased to press his charges. He was therefore liable to the court expenses.²⁰

Ternils et de Algemezi probaverint idonee quod ipsi tempore barrigii morarie de Algezira . . . non possent ad subventionem ipsius ad tempus venire, non compellatis ad contribuendum et condemnationem quam nos imposuimus."

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 92v (Apr. 15, 1278). Perhaps the knights were understandably less susceptible to demagoguery and rioting. Or perhaps the movement had indeed been antiaristocratic, though in that case one would expect to find no mention at all of the knights.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 44, fol. 143v (June 27, 1279). Roque Chabás Lloréns publishes this from a copy in the municipal archives at Alcira, with a Spanish translation (*El Archivo*, II [June 1888], 390-92).

¹⁹ Arch. Crown, Peter III, Reg. Canc. 40, fol. 87 (Apr. 5, 1278). "Petrus . . . fideli suo Bartholomeo de Ossal iurisperito Valencie salutem et gratiam. Mandamus vobis quatenus inquiratis super barrigio quod dicitur factum per homines de Segorbio in Castro Novo de rebus Sarracenorum."

²⁰ Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Fondos en Depósito, caja 13, No. 26 (perg.). "Cum dominus Rex mandasset inquisitionem per Bartholomeum de Ossal iurisperitum Valencie super barrigio quod factum dicebatur per homines Segurbii de rebus Sarracenorum Castri novi, dictus Bartholomeus super predictis ad inquisitionem processit et subsequenter idem dominus Rex mandavit Alberto de Lavania legum doctori et iudici suo quod iuxta processum dicte inquisitionis faceret sententiam in eadem. Coram quo Alberto de Lavania comparuit Diego de Sancta Cruce sindicus universitatis hominum de Segurb ex una parte. . . . Quare condemnamus dictum nobilem Berengarium de Entenza eiusque procuratore in expensis quas dictus Martinus de Alfozea iura hominum Segurbii. . . ." The date of this document requires correction; the previous order was dated as of the nones of April 1278, and this later order as of the eleventh kalends of March 1278; the latter is therefore based on the Incarnational calendar and is really 1279 (February 19). There are at least two documents in the Crown archives, for 1279 and 1280, concerned with collecting these court costs from Berengar of Entenza.

The sacking at Liria is recorded with its condemnation:

Before the execution of the sentence which was delivered against those who were charged with the sack of the Liria Moorish quarter, Peter Maleti, who took part in the aforesaid sack and had been condemned to pay a thousand solidi, died. We therefore order you that if this is so you are not to compel his heirs . . . to pay the aforesaid sum.²¹

Earlier the Moors of Liria had suffered a raid from the Christians of the town and had lost some flocks. "We order you to restore, upon presentation of this document . . . the flocks which you took from them," wrote Peter; he reminded them that these Moors had been under the safeguard of King James.²² The men of Onda and the surrounding districts also came under investigation for their attacks:

We order you that, as to the investigation conducted . . . against the men of Onda and of its districts, and against certain other men, by reason of the attacks made by these men, as is said, on the Saracens of Onda, and also by reason . . . of the invasion of the Moor quarter of Onda, you are to proceed upon presentation of this document. . . .²³

The sack of Oropesa was judicially examined; the Castellón Christians had raided the countryside:

Another. To James Fiveller, administrator of Castellón: that a court inquiry be made into the sack of Oropesa against those guilty. When the investigation is over, dispatch it under seal to Bartholomew of Ossal, lawyer of Valencia, the judge delegated for this.²⁴

There were troubles at Cocentaina,²⁵ at Peñíscola,²⁶ and at other places.

At Fortaleny the riots had resulted in the enslavement and dispersal of

²¹ Arch. Crown, Peter III, Reg. Canc. 40, fol. 92v (Apr. 12, 1278). "Cum ante prolationem sententie que fuit lata contra illos qui fuerunt inculpati de barrigio morarie Lirie decessit Petrus Maleti qui erat de predicto barrigio . . . et condemnatus fuit in mille solidis. Mandamus vobis quatenus si ita est non compellatis heredes . . . ad solutionem quantitatis."

²² *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 38, fol. 20 (Aug. 25, 1276). "Mandamus vobis quatenus restituatis visis presentibus . . . bestiarum quod de eis [Saracenis de Benizaron] cepistis. . . ." Benizaron is probably Benisanó.

²³ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 40, fol. 106v (May 25, 1278). "Mandamus vobis quatenus super inquisicione facta . . . contra homines Onde et terminorum suorum et quosdam alios ratione barrigii facti per ipsos homines ut dicitur de Saracenis . . . de Onda et eciam ratione . . . invasionis ravalli Onde, procedatis visis presentibus. . . ."

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 41, fol. 13 (Nov. 3, 1278). "Alia. Iacobo Fivellerio baiulo Castilionis quod inquirat super barrigio de Oropesa contra culpabiles et facta inquisicione eam mitat sub sigillo, Bartholomeo Dossal iurisperito Valencie, iudici ad hoc delegato." This is the same "de Ossal" as in n. 19. On the disposition of Moors over the Castellón area, see Arcadio García Sanz, "Mudéjares y moriscos en Castellón," *Boletín de la sociedad castellonense de cultura*, XXVIII (Jan.-Mar. 1952), 94-114. On the Castellón sacks, see also Arch. Crown, Peter III, Reg. Canc. 42, fol. 232 (Apr. 13, 1279), where the King is confiscating property of guilty townsmen; see also the document in n. 38.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 39, fol. 231v (July 21, 1277).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 42, fol. 153v (Oct. 5, 1279). The men of Peñíscola helped in the attacks on Oropesa.

the hapless Moors. "To all officials etc.," reads the royal order, "that they are to seize and take into protective custody the Saracens which the noble William of Rocafull or his procurator will show to have been from the sack of Fortaleny," and "they are to set them free from slavery and restore them to their former liberty."²⁷ In this case, however, a powerful lord complained and a royal inquisition was ordered just as in the larger towns:

We are informed that William of Rocafull is bringing charges against certain men of Valencia, Tárbena and some other places in those jurisdictions. They made an attack on the Saracens in his house at Fortaleny during which they did much harm to William himself. Wherefore We order that those whom you find guilty of the aforesaid, you are to oblige to make satisfaction etc. as the courts will decide.²⁸

At Sagunto the sack led to the imposition of a fine. But "the money to which the men of Murviedro [Sagunto] have been condemned by reason of the attack on the Saracens of the same place" proved beyond the resources of available local capital. Their possessions were then seized to be converted to cash. "Although the auction took place," however, "no one came forward as buyer of these goods." A sullen resistance, as of a community outraged by the punishment of their activities, appears in this situation. But the King had no mercy. A new sale was to be conducted. Should no buyers appear, an arbitrary evaluation was to be made and the goods confiscated by the crown toward payment of the fine.²⁹ We have here some indication of the gravity of the attack and of the King's anger, because those towns were normally his support and ally in Valencia.

A touching incident occurred at Algar de Palancia, showing that at least some friends were to be had. The Moors foresaw that they would be attacked, and so they entrusted their flocks to the Order of Merced to guard. But the Segorbe Christians plundered them anyway, a serious offense since it was an attack upon the Church. Peter wrote (1279) to his procurator for the realm of Valencia, reporting that "the men of Segorbe robbed from the

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 41, fol. 35 (Jan. 4, 1278 or 1279): "universis officialibus etc. quod Sarracenos quos nobilis G. de Roch[a]folio vel eius procurator ostenderint [sic] fuisse de barrigio de Fortaleny emparent et teneant emparatos"; "eos faciant liberari a captivitate et reduci in pristinam libertatem."

²⁸ *Ibid.*, another document of the same date. "G. de Roch[a]folio intelleximus conquerentem quod quidam homines Valentie, Tarbane [?] et quorundam aliorum locorum ipsorum pertinentium fecerunt barrigium de Sarracenis in domo sua de Fortaleny in quo intulerunt eodem Guillelmo plura dampna. Quare mandamus vobis quatenus illos quos culpabiles inveneritis in predictis . . . compellatis ad satisfaciendum etc. ut de iure fuerit." Have we here a hint of the allied class struggle of which we spoke above? Rocafull or Rochafoyl was lieutenant of the king of Aragon at Montpellier.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 111 (June 17, 1279). "Denarios in quibus condemnati fuerunt homines Muri-veteris racione barrigii Sarracenorum eiusdem loci"; "licet subastata [or e?] fuerint, cum nullus se offerat [offerret?] emptor in eisdem." See also the fines in Reg. 42, fol. 185 (Nov. 29, 1279). Does "denarios" imply a multiplicity of fairly small contributions to the large fine?

brothers of the Order of Merced a certain flock which the Saracens of Algar had entrusted to those brothers." He ordered him to see to it that the animals were restored.³⁰

These attacks involved the enslavement and sale of many Moors, at Fortaleny and Cocentaina for example.³¹ A letter to the ordinary judge of Alcira (1279) concerns the sale made to Peter Peronel of six Moors who had been carried off during the sack there. Three had already been resold by Peter in good faith.³² We also have a dismissal of charges against a falsely accused citizen revealing this aspect of our story:

Gonsalvo of Conques, a resident of Alcira, appealed to Us and presented [his case]. In connection with the pillaging of the Alcira Moslem quarter he had been separately convicted [and fined] on account of four Saracens whom he admitted having acquired from the pillage. He now claimed that he had procured them not under formality of loot but otherwise; and he had surrendered them to the administrator and local judge of Alcira. He petitioned that his evidence be admitted. We then . . . entrusted the solution of this affair to the honorable bishop of Valencia. From this report We are convinced that the aforesaid Gonsalvo has adequately proven the aforesaid case.³³

The King later appointed an agent to attend to this problem of kidnapping.

To all officials: that they are to extend help and aid to Bernard of Ocel a crown agent whom the lord king sends to take into protective custody the Saracens who were abducted during the riots in the kingdom of Valencia.³⁴

And at the same time another official is discovered making researches into the matter:

To officials and subjects: that they take pains to furnish Berengar of Conques help, council and aid in the judicial investigation he is conducting against those

³⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 97 (June 26, 1279). "Homines Segorbe abstulerunt fratribus ordinis Mercedis [?] quoddam bestiarium quod Sarraceni de Algar ipsis fratribus comendaverunt." Again in 1306 the Mercedarians interceded with the King, this time for the Moors of Sagunto. As a result the King ordered his bailiff there to stop molesting them or jailing them for insufficient reason (Faustino D. Gazulla, "Los Mercedarios en Arguines y Algar, siglo xiii," *Boletín de la sociedad castellonense de cultura*, VI [Jan.-Mar. 1925], 75).

³¹ See nn. 25, 27.

³² Arch. Crown, Peter III, Reg. Canc. 42, fol. 159v (Oct. 20, 1279).

³³ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 40, fol. 63 (Feb. 13, 1277 or 1278). "Gondiçalbus de Concha habitator de Algezira nos supplicando monstravit quod cum ipse ratione barrigii morerie de Algezira singulariter erat condemnatus ratione quattuor Sarracenorum quos confessus fuit se habuisse de dicto barrigio quod prout nunc asserit non in modum barrigii set alias cepit dictos quattuor Sarracenos, et eos tradidit baiulo et iustitie de Algezira super quo supplicavit probationem suam recipi. Nos autem . . . probationem istius negotii comisimus venerabili episcopo Valentino per quem nobis constat predictum Gonçalbū sufficienter probasse predicta."

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 41, fol. 9 (Oct. 27, 1278). "Universis officialibus quod prestant Bernardo de Ocel portorio quem dominus rex mittit pro emparandis Sarracenis qui sunt de barrigiis Regni Valencie, auxilium et iuvamen."

who violently carried off or sold Saracens [who were] under royal protection.³⁵

One of these freemen-become-slaves turns up in a document of 1279:

To P[eter] of Llavíá, ordinary judge of Valencia. We caused a certain Saracen woman to be apprehended and removed from the power of Elisha Durán a citizen of Barcelona. Arnold Durán, son of the said Elisha, had bought her with a public bill of sale (he claims) from W[illiam] of Celme citizen of Valencia. Since [We confiscated the Saracen] by reason of the fact that the said Saracen had been abducted during the sack of Alcira, We order that if, by the signs and name of the Saracen contained in her document of sale and by the admission of the Saracen herself, it will be evident to you that she is the one whom the said W[illiam] of Celme sold to the aforesaid A[rnold] Durán, you are forthwith to compel the aforesaid W[illiam] to restore and to redeem to the aforesaid Elisha Durán or to the aforesaid son the price which the same A[rnold] paid to the aforesaid W[illiam] for the aforesaid Saracen as you will see written in the aforesaid document.³⁶

A group of Moslems had been driven from, or perhaps had fled from, Onda during the troubles and had been abducted. In 1276 the King refers to these people in a directive to the administrator of Tarazona:

We order that on seeing this document you restore and pay to Berengar Ça . . . n and Guarín a tailor [of Tarazona] the price you had and received from them for the persons of twelve Saracens, driven out of Onda, whom you sold to these [two].³⁷

Lynch law was not unknown. In 1278 the King sent this order to a town of northern Valencia:

Peter by the grace of God King of Aragon to his faithful James Fiveller castellan in Castellón of Burriana health and favor. We order you to conduct an investigation against the people of Castellón as to whether they broke into or invaded, as

³⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 11 (Nov. 1, 1278). "Officialibus et subditis quod impendant Berengario de Conqs auxilium concilium et iuvamen super inquisitione facienda contra illos qui barrigiarunt seu vendiderunt Sarracenos de pace." On *pax*, see n. 43.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 113 (July 21, 1279). "P. de Libiano, justicie Valencie. Cum nos accipi et extrahi fecimus de posse Eligii Durand civis Barchinonensis quandam Sarracenam quam A. Durandi filius dicti Eligii emerat ut asserit cum publico instrumento a G. de Celma cive Valencie eo quod dicta Sarracena fuerat de barrigio Algezire [*obscure; perhaps Algar?*] mandamus vobis quatenus si per signa et nomen Sarracene in carta venditionis eiusdem contenta et per confessionem ipsius Sarracene constiterit vobis illam esse quam dictus G. de Celma vendidit predicto A. Durandi compellatis continuo predictum G. ad reddendum et solvendum predicto Eligio Durandi sive predicto filio suo precium quod idem A. predicto G. solvit pro predicta Sarracena ut in carta predicta videbitis contineri." It is quite possible that the name I have given here as Elisha, for lack of a better conjecture, is something else. It is possible, too, that it and its modifier are feminine. Celme may perhaps be the man of similar name appointed *almotaçén* of Valencia ten months earlier (Reg. Canc. 40, fol. 160 [Sept. 10, 1278]). On *Libianus*, see *Llavíá* in the *Nomenclator geográfico-histórico de la provincia de Gerona desde la más remota antigüedad hasta el siglo xv*, comp. Celestino Pujol y Camps and Pedro Alsíus y Torrent (Gerona, 1883), 73-74.

³⁷ Arch. Crown, Peter III, Reg. Canc. 38, fol. 56 (Oct. 13, 1276). "Mandamus vobis quatenus visis presentibus restitatis et solvatis Berengario Ça[hole]n et Guarino Sartori precium quod ab eis habuistis et recepistis pro duodecim personis Sarracenorum exillis de Onda quos eis vendidistis. . . ."

is reported, Our prison or building in which, as is reported, Simon of Bonya formerly castellan of the same place held in custody a certain Saracen of the same town. These people, We understand, on their own authority killed this Saracen and his wife. And when the investigation has been completed . . . send [the report], secured under the protection of your seal.³⁸

Even in 1280 the King felt impelled to write to the men of Corbera and Cullera (themselves the suspects?) ordering them to guard the Moslems of Benibochir, Favara, and Alcudia against "robbers and raiders."³⁹ Later on, in a general settlement of difficulties granted by King Peter in 1283, we read:

We likewise withdraw and terminate . . . as a special concession all lawsuits and civil or criminal actions which, up to the present day, We could have brought by reason of the riots or destruction in the Moslem quarter of the city of Valencia or of other Moslem quarters in any places of the realm [of Valencia].⁴⁰

The simple fact of rioting, on such a scale, implies that at least a considerable segment of the population in Valencia felt serious prejudice against the Moors. Without denying the fairness and tolerance cited by modern authors, one may reconcile and correlate the two sets of data by positing an underlying taint, a mistrust and sense of otherness. Is there supporting evidence for such a conclusion? Before the great outburst, around the years 1275 and 1277, were there other indications of lack of harmony and of identity? These are of course moods, or even an underlying substratum of mood, and therefore difficult to document. Evidence is not lacking, however, to indicate this drift of feeling.

The Moslem in Valencia was apparently a convenient target for exploitation and abuse. Greed would be the motivating force here, but it is not without significance that this greed should be directed against the Moslem, rather than against the Christian settler. The former was equally well armed, equally the object of solicitude on the part of the authorities. Yet he was un-

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 41, fol. 18 (Nov. 27, 1278). "Petrus Dei gratia Rex Aragonum fidei suo Jacobo Fivellerio alcaido Castilionis campi de Burriana salutem et gratiam. Mandamus vobis quatenus inquiratis contra homines Castilionis super eo quod [quia?] ut dicitur fregerunt seu invaserunt carcerem sive domum nostram in quo ut dicitur Simon de Bonya olim alcaidus dicti loci tenebat captum quandam Sarracenum eiusdem ville quem Sarracenum et eius uxorem ipsi homines ut intelleximus auctoritate propria interfecerunt et facta ipsa inquisicione . . . nobis mitatis sub vestri sigilli munimine interclusam."

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 48, fol. 100v (July 25, 1280): "predones et raptores." These places should probably be identified with Benihocuér and Alcudiola de Alfandech (both defunct now), and with modern Favareta (formerly Favara de Valle de Alfandech).

⁴⁰ *Aureum opus regalium privilegiorum civitatis et regni Valentie*, ed. Luis de Alanya (Valencia, 1515), Peter III [II], doc. 11, fol. 30v. "Item absolvimus et diffinimus . . . de speciali gratia omnes petitiones et actiones civiles et criminales: quas facere possemus in odierum diem: ratione barrigiorum vel fractionum morerie Valentie, et aliarum moreriarum aliquorum locorum regni." The text goes on to renounce charges against pulling down of houses and against popular unions, but gives no information on whether or not these disturbances are intrinsically related.

safe. Thus, the two documents we have just given above, of the pope and local hierarchy, were probably directed against the barons, bands of raiders, and adventuring knights. In his autobiography King James describes how one such group of frontier irregulars (*almogàvers*) and infantry under Sir William (En Guillem) d'Aguiló began to raid and plunder the Moslems of the conquered kingdom shortly after the surrender of the capital (1238). James himself had to hurry down from Montpellier, where he had been holding diplomatic talks with the counts of Toulouse and Provence. The brigands scattered and fled from the realm, and the King managed to "recover some of the Saracen [captives] and a part of the loot." "They felt safer" with him in the region.⁴¹

Similarly we find the Moslems and Christians around Alcira engaged in a bitter quarrel. The Christians there had simply seized by violence the land they had coveted in seven communities. King James ordered that the Christians were to restore to the Moslems all the lands for which they could not show a document of sale from the Moors.⁴²

In 1259 a Moslem and her son were borne off into slavery in Valencia. They had been under royal protection and so were promptly rescued by King James:

We order you . . . that upon seeing this document you put the person and property of Bartholomew Çelart of Burriana under constraint to repay to the caid of Tàrbena those three hundred and fifty solidi of Valencia which [Bartholomew] had and received for a certain Saracen woman named Faton and a certain Saracen her son, named Azmat. This Saracen woman and her son were wards of the crown. Bartholomew himself had bought this Saracen woman and her son, as we understand it, from certain persons who had kidnapped them at sea.⁴³

⁴¹ *Llibre dels feyts*, Chap. cccv: "cobrarem dels serrahins y de la roba una partida; . . . y asseguràrense més que nos forem en la terra." I have used the Biblioteca Clàssica Catalana edition, *Crònica o comentaris del gloriosissim y invictissim rey En Jaume Primer* . . . , ed. Mariano Aguiló y Fuster (Barcelona, 1905).

⁴² Document of July 18, 1245, in the *Libro de privilegios* (fol. 53v) of the municipal archives of Alcira, published by Roque Chabás Lloréns in *El Archivo*, II (June 1888), 403-405, and discussed by him in an article, "El Archivo municipal de Alcira," *ibid.*, 36-41. The King says there had been "sepe inter sarracenos Algezira et christianos sepe questio sive disencio"; and he gives judgment "habito consilio et diligenti tractatu voluntate et consensu senum et sarracenorum Algezire."

⁴³ Arch. Crown, James I, Reg. Canc. 10, fol. 108v (Apr. 5, 1259). "Mandamus vobis . . . quod visis presentibus compellatis Bartholomeum Çelart de Burriana et bona sua ad restituendum alcaido de Tarbana illos CCCL solidos regalium quos ab eo habuit et recepit pro quadam Saracena nomine Faton et quodam Sarraceno filio suo nomine Azmet que Sarracena et filius suus erant de palia et ipse Bartholomeus emerat ipsam Sarracenam et filium suum prout intelleximus a quibusdam qui ipsos furati fuerant in mari." A law in the code for Valencia reads: "la treue e la pau la qual nos donam a Sarrahins o a altres persones, per tots sia observada" (*Fori regni Valentiae* [Monzón, 1548], lib. IX, rub. XIX, Chap. xii.) This *pax* or *palia* or *paria* was not the same as the *guidaticum* or safeguard; possibly it is a corruption of *patria*, referring to a tributary people, or more probably from *pariare*, referring to the payment. (See Eulalia Rodón Binué, *El lenguaje técnico del feudalismo en el siglo xi en Cataluña* [Barcelona, 1957], 188). *Alcalde* and *baille* (bailiff) are roughly the same local office of feudal administrator for crown

Another Moslem from the town of Tárbená, "named Azen . . . was abducted at sea . . . during a time of peace and truce"; the King took steps to have him released.⁴⁴ A Moor named Avinçonelerro belonging to the King was "wickedly killed" in 1258 by a familiar of Adam of Paterna,⁴⁵ but no reason is assigned.

Similar incidents appear in the records of King Peter during the years just after the death (1276) of King James. In 1277 the crown ordered the arrest of Bernard Arbet of Iviza because he had robbed some Moslems of Polop in Valencia.⁴⁶ There were impositions by officials at Tous⁴⁷ and at Játiva⁴⁸ in 1279. And again in 1283:

We hear from the community of Saracens in the Moslem quarter of Játiva that you unjustly oppress them with certain unwonted taxes, which you exact from them against the grant and privileges conceded by the lord king Our father [James]. We therefore order you [to desist].⁴⁹

King Peter had to remind the authorities at Valencia that "the Saracens of Valencia should answer before their *cadi* to charges brought among themselves";⁵⁰ this meant a steady loss in fines for the Christian courts.

Moors who had come in 1279 under safe-conduct to trade were seized at Biar.⁵¹ At Valencia city the municipal authorities made the mistake of capturing an influential Moor, and the King demanded his release (1284).⁵² Ten Moors were kidnapped at Valle de Alfandech de Marignen (1277).⁵³ The

or seigneurial patrimony, the former word deriving from the Moslem *cadi* or judge. The *alcald* was castellan, and his title derives from the Moslem *caid* or governor. It seems likely that our document refers to the Moslem *caid* who had purchased the Moslem slaves, though neither the administrative circumstances of Tárbená nor the word *alcaydus* makes this imperative. I fear the issue is confused by the occasional use of *alcaydus* for *baiulus* or for *iustitia* (*iudex*).

⁴⁴ Arch. Crown, James I, Reg. Canc. 10, fol. 109 (Apr. 5, 1259); "nomine Açē qui fuit furatus in mari . . . tempore pacis et treuge."

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 10, fol. 62v (Apr. 29, 1258). "Absolvimus et diffinimus tibi Iohanni Sancti alumpno Ade de Paterno et tuis imperpetuum . . . ratione Avinçonalerro [?] Sarraceni nostri quem . . . nequiter occidistis. Ita quod racione ipsius mortis nos vel nostri non possimus penam civilem vel criminalem . . . tibi nec tuis infligere [sic]."

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 39, fols. 207v-208 (June 19, 1277).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 41, fol. 62v (Apr. 23, 1279). "Non compellatis eos ad solvendum amplius in ipsam quantitatem pro qua taxati sunt."

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 101v (July 3, 1279). "Intelleximus quod aliqui gravant Sarracenos aliam de Xativa in novis petitionibus et aliis."

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 61, fol. 101v (Apr. 22, 1283). "Intelleximus per aliamam Sarracenorum Ravalis Xative quod vos indebite gravatis ipsos super quibusdam exaccionibus inusitatis quas ab ipsis exigitis contra concessionem et privilegia Sarracenis predictis concessa per dominum Regem patrem nostrum. Quare mandamus vobis. . ."

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 43, fol. 96v (Jan. 4, 1284 or 1285). "Sarracenos Valencie debere respondere in posse *alcadi* eorum super querimonia que exponuntur inter ipsos." Wherever I offer two dates, it has not been possible to decide between the Incarnational and Nativity calendars in converting the date; only internal evidence can solve such cases.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 41, fol. 115v (July 26, 1279).

⁵² *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 43, fol. 74 (Nov. 22, 1284).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 40, fol. 49v (Dec. 20, 1277); "super facto illorum decem Sarracenorum qui furati extiterant in valle nostre de Alfandech."

Ayora Moslems, caught in a jurisdictional fight between the bishops of Valencia and Cartagena (1281), prudently felt obliged to seek a royal safe-conduct.⁵⁴ In the previous year the shoe was on the other foot at Alcira, where the Moslem community admitted having attacked the Christians.⁵⁵ This sort of casual violence, as well as many requests by Valencian Moslems for charters of royal safeguard, could be documented at further length. The significance of individual incidents is not always clear; their multiplicity, however, is hardly reassuring.

No wonder then that the Moslem communities of Valencia sometimes petitioned for protecting walls against the Christians. The Moslems of Chivert, for example, had had a clause inserted into their treaty settlement (1243) by which their conquerors, the Knights Templar, promised "to raise a wall . . . between their castle and quarter and that of the Moors, from the gateway."⁵⁶ In 1266 the Moslems of Murcia, recently conquered by King James, were explicit on this point:

they told me they sustained great harm from the Christians . . . because there was no dividing wall between them; and they begged that some sector be closed off so that the Moors might be better protected.⁵⁷

May a difference of attitude be remarked, either in the populace or in the authorities, during the reign of Peter (1276-1285) as compared with that of his father James?⁵⁸ There were many enactments protecting the Moslems under Peter, but there was also a more serious and frequent need for them.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 49, fol. 88 (May 22, 1281).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Reg. Canc. 48, fol. 97 (July 24, 1280); "barrigium," a word related to the Catalan *barraig* and *barrejar* (cf. the *Llibre dels feyts*, Chap. DLIV).

⁵⁶ "Carta puebla de Xivert," ed. Manuel Ferrandis Irlas, Apr. 28, 1243, *Boletín de la sociedad castellonense de cultura*, XXIV (July-Sept. 1948), 229. "Ad hec promiserunt fratres facere murum de suo proprio inter castrum suum et maurorum a porta." A section of a Valencian town could be closed off simply by walling a few strategic streets, but something more ambitious seems to be indicated in this document.

⁵⁷ Document of 1266, published by Francisco Fernández y González, *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla, considerados en sí mismos y respecto de la civilización española* (Madrid, 1866), 359, doc. 46. "Dixome que recebian gran daño de los christianos . . . por que no había entre ellos departimiento de muro, é pidiome merced que catase alguna carrera por que los moros fuesen más guardados." Though this grant is from Alphonse of Castile, we must remember that the Christian population in Murcia at this time was mostly a spilling over from the Valencian conquest, and that circumstances in Murcia, as we see in King James's autobiography, were similar to those in neighboring Valencia.

⁵⁸ Antonio Michavila y Vila proposes a theory in which the practical tolerance of King James slowly yields to the demands of clergy and people, so that the Moslems turn to the barons for protection from a harsher king, saving their religion at the cost of their economic interests, and thus being driven to revolt. Peter then restores the balance ("Apuntes para el estudio de la vida social del reino de Valencia en el época de los reyes de la casa de Aragón," *III Congrès d'història de la corona d'Aragó dedicat al període compres entre la mort de Jaume I i la proclamació del rey Don Ferran Antequera* [2 vols., Valencia, 1923], 123-25). The theory is interesting but unproven. None of the evidence really substantiates it, including Peter's quite normal use of Moslem auxiliaries against the French invaders.

James protected them just as much, as can be seen from his charters and safe-conducts; Peter often cites the documents and precedent of James. As the years went by there were changes in the growth of Christian population, prosperity, and military power, and in the direction of crusading activity which took on the color of policing and of suppressing rebellion. Such changes would probably be reflected in the manner of applying to the Moors the principles and prejudices of those times. But there is no discernible difference between the basic attitudes under James and under Peter. And such changes as there may have been in applying them were too subtle to have left traces in the records.

Can the rioting be considered a part of the social struggle of 1275 between the townsmen of Valencia city, or between the townsmen and the nobles in the countryside?⁵⁹ What is their relation to the activities of the raider Michael Pérez? It may be well perhaps to analyze briefly the social background.

During more than thirty years before our troubles, many changes had taken place. Settlers had been arriving; administrative organisms of all kinds had been taking root and bearing their bureaucratic plenty; Dominican friars, sometimes with an accompanying mob of Christians unsympathetic to the Moslems, had been laboring to persuade the Moors to Christianity; a serious rising of the Moslems had been suppressed; and social tensions, not all of them originating within the frontier kingdom itself, had been accumulating between classes—nobles and king, townsmen and nobles, Aragonese and Catalans, commercial and landed interests, and between classes of townsmen. The outbreak came in the final year of King James's life.

At the time of the riots the kingdom of Valencia was still only sparsely settled by Christians. The overwhelming majority of inhabitants were Moslems, still organized under their own laws and leaders, still provided with weapons, and still remembering their proud independence only thirty years lost. They were doubly restless because the ruler of Morocco had just suc-

⁵⁹ As Gaspar Escolano claims in his *Décades de la historia de la insigne y coronada ciudad y reino de Valencia*, ed. J. B. Perales (3 vols., Valencia, 1878-80), II, 301; he has Michael Pérez leading a union of townsmen to sack Moslem properties of the nobles. Cf. Gerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la corona de Aragón* (7 vols., Saragossa, 1610-21), I, lib. III, Chap. xcix. Florencio Janer even suggested that the Valencian Moslems, by fighting on both sides of this social war, drew the hatred of the Christians on the respectively opposed factions, but this odd interpretation itself supposes a long history of prejudice if it is to be intelligible, nor is any supporting evidence at hand (*Condición social de los moriscos de España* [Madrid, 1857]). Later historians are generally content with a brief notice and add little if anything until Soldevila. The peripheral circumstances are carefully analyzed by the eminent Catalan historian Ferrán Soldevila. In connection with the imminent rebellion of the Moslems, he accepts Pérez as "el demagog" (*Pere el Gran, l'infant* [3 vols., Barcelona, 1950-56], III, 403-407). There is only a brief mention in his *Jaume I* (46-47).

ceeded in reconciling the quarreling Moslem chiefs in Granada, Málaga, and Guadix and because African invaders and native armies had unexpectedly seized the initiative against the surprised Christians in south central Spain. By May 1275 the Castilians had gone down in shameful defeat at Jaén. In the fighting had perished the primate-archbishop of Toledo (who was the son of King James of Aragon). Alfonso the Learned, rudely awakened from fantasies of becoming Holy Roman Emperor, had hurried back from France to organize a desperate resistance, while James prepared to rally his subjects to aid their neighbor. The earlier expansive mood of conquest and triumph had subsided before these chill realities.

King James tells us in his autobiography, however, that he did not foresee the insurrection which was soon to break out among his Valencian Moslems.⁶⁰ His presence in the city of Valencia at the end of 1275 was due instead to two distinct problems. "The whole populace of the capital city had risen in a body and had torn down many houses belonging to some notables of the town, contrary to Our dominion, and had done many other bad deeds."⁶¹ At the same time Sir Michael (En Miguel) Pérez, an influential knight at the head of "a large troop infantry," had been plundering "some settlements of the Saracens of the said kingdom of Valencia."⁶²

There were substantial bodies of adventurers and mercenary troops concentrated below Valencia, as many as eight thousand in the Plain of Jijona alone. Besides the military settlers and the drifting relics of previous campaigns, a mass of crusaders had been gathering to march to the aid of the Castilians.⁶³ It is probable, especially in the light of remarks by the chroni-

⁶⁰ *Llibre dels feyts*, Chap. DLVI.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Chap. DLIV. "Nos vingué missatge de Valencia que tot lo poble de Valencia generalment s'era adjuntat, y que havien enderrocats alberchs molts d'alguns prohomenes de la vila contra la senyoria nostra, y molts d'altres mals fets." Similar troubles occurred earlier in the year among the townsmen of Saragossa, where one elected magistrate was killed. On the feudal *senyoria* and the *senyor sobirà* in Aragon, see P. Corominas, "La sobirania de les persones politiqués," *Miscellania Prat de la Riba* (Barcelona, 1923), 9, 11-13, and Chap. 111.

⁶² *Ibid.* "En Miguel Peric ab gran companyia de peons entenia de barrejar alguns llochs de serrahins del dit Regne de Valencia." I tentatively identify him as having been the esquire of the baron Peter Cornell during the early period of the crusade (see the *Llibre dels feyts*, Chaps. CLXXXIX-CXCI); he knew Arabic and was used to negotiate exchanges of prisoners; he was prominent in the capture of Almazora. Only two men of the name appear in the crown registers for Valencia during our period, one of them no less than three times. The latter is a knight and a property owner in Valencia city who disappears from the records after the summer of 1274.

⁶³ Bernat Desclot, *Crónica*, ed. Miquel Coll i Alentorn (4 vols., Barcelona, 1949-50), Chap. LXVII. The documentary background may be seen in Joaquín Miret y Sans, *Itinerari de Jaume I el conqueridor* (Barcelona, 1918), under the year 1275; in *Recull de documents inédits del rey En Jaume I*, ed. Eduardo González Hurtebise (Barcelona, 1913), documents of the year 1275, a work also appearing as part of the larger *Congrès d'història de la corona d'Aragó dedicat al rey En Jaume I y a la seua época* (3 pts., Barcelona, 1913), see pt. 2, pp. 1252-53. There is good documentation, some of it misdated, edited by Ferrán Fondevilla in his "La nobleza catalanoaragonesa capitaneada por Ferrán Sánchez de Castro en 1274," *Congrès*, pt. 2, p. 1148, and *passim*. For interpretation, see *Pere el Gran*, as cited in n. 59.

cler Desclot, that elements from among these soldiers had been looting and raiding under the *condottiere* Pérez. Historians tend to speak of the civic troubles and the raids as features of a single movement, but King James speaks of them as "two" problems calling for separate solutions.⁶⁴ Sir Michael's men were plunderers, ranging far and wide, soon dispersed, and punished for the crime of treason; the social war, however, centered in the capital, involved factions of burghers, and was being controlled by elaborate legal action. The latter troubles were not directed against the Moslems; the former, though it despoiled and abused the Moslems, actually involved Moslems among the robbers themselves. Both sets of troubles may have been related, or else accidentally allied, or they may have been quite independent.

At any rate, the frontier kingdom was in serious turmoil. The King first resolved the problem of Sir Michael by detaching a body of troops from the crown army marching on Valencia and sending them to pursue the fleeing brigand; those few who could be captured were executed. On the other hand, the problem of civil turmoil in the capital was made the subject of judicial inquiry. A staggering fine of a hundred thousand solidi was laid upon the citizens. Charges were being drawn against those leaders whose actions had exposed them to corporal punishment.

None of these circumstances fit our documents. Our rioters were townsmen, not irregular troops coming up from Jijona; they did not flee the kingdom but perforce remained for punishment, each in his own locality. These are not the civil riots of Valencia city, which are adequately described in the King's memoirs. Our riots are directed to the destruction of the large Moslem sections, and they are not confined to a single city. They are not settled by King James in person, but are the object of complex judicial inquiries under his successor after the social outburst at the capital had been judged and penalized. Much of our rioting occurs in strong towns like Alcira and Sagunto which were not involved, by the King's own account, in the social troubles and which would have been able to repel Pérez.

Our riots sprang perhaps from the same soil of panic and tension but with an added dimension. The documents reveal them to have been widely distributed, put afoot by independent groups of local inhabitants, and with individual legal proceedings, resulting in punishments proportioned to the crime of riot. Their extent, locale, personnel, ferocity, mood of destruction rather than of simple plunder or social purpose, their singleness of object, and

⁶⁴ *Llibre dels feyts*, Chap. DLIV: "nos per aquestes dues rahons que dessus son dites, a punir y a esquivar tot aço damunt dit. . . ." Pérez, if we identify him with the raiders in Desclot's account, would have ravaged the area between Alicante and Játiva and then overrun the less defensible country places of the Moslems up toward the city of Valencia.

the indiscriminating manner in which crown Moors and harmless local Moors were also made to suffer—all buttress this impression of a separate problem of prejudice, an impression further supported by their context of related documentation on public attitudes.

If the riots of 1275 were connected with either or both of the civil problems, they would still of course betray prejudice against the outsider by their scope and circumstance. But they seem to be rather a separate and distinct phenomenon, reflecting that prejudice in a purer form, a phenomenon not adequately explained by the other movements. The double problem of Pérez and of the capital city was handled by King James in December 1275 and January 1276.⁶⁵ It was soon forgotten as the Valencia Moslems revolted, seized castles, called upon Africa for help, and inaugurated a war which grew more serious as the months passed.

The relationship of our riots to this Moslem rebellion is less clear. They were not a legitimate part of that war, nor in any sense necessary, as can be seen from the severity used by the crown against the rioters. The King ceased for once to conciliate the townsmen, his great strength in Valencia, and continued to pursue the malefactors with single-minded severity long after the war was over. Whatever fear and mistrust may have been present in the motivation of the rioters, the King obviously considered them to have been without excuse. The rioting, moreover, took place generally in areas safest from Moslem attack. Still, one may perhaps consider it as an episode connected with the war. The war may have furnished a combined pretext and opportunity for releasing the explosive force of pent-up dislike.

Prejudice and cruelty exist, often latent, at some levels of any generation, needing rather a pretext (preferably, in the Middle Ages, one of a religious cast) than a reason to become active. In analyzing the constituent elements of a given prejudice, and in weighing their relative importance, one deals only in terms of probability. The conclusions tend rather to be conjectures, worked out by someone familiar with a specific (preferably a local) historical context. Even then, the nature of a prejudice is not susceptible of facile analysis.

Thus, it is probable that simple fear of the potential enemy within the gates was a factor, but, as we have seen, it is improbable that it contributed more than a color or tone to the basic prejudice. Some clues might be found in the character of the settlers in the main areas of riot. These were drawn largely from the sober and energetic people of the *langue d'oc*, of the Catalan

⁶⁵ Cf. Miret y Sans, *Itinerari*, 526–28.

and southern French regions. But this is perhaps a less promising line of study than it would be in the case of the more introverted Castilian crusader.

The frontier psychology, with its bumptious aggressiveness and its lack of roots, is not to be discounted as a factor. Settlers were lured to the new kingdom by liberal privileges, and opportunities were plentiful for rising in status. The impact of all this, however, would surely be far less by 1275, the moment of explosion; this part of the frontier was by then fairly stable. We have already spoken of religious factors. Economic factors such as a desire for loot or an irritation over Moslem privileges would hardly serve as impulse to such widespread rioting, because at this very time houses and good lands were going begging in the rich new kingdom.

Of course, these and other depths of our subject cannot be explored in a short article. It may be useful, however, to indicate two significant European phenomena which were much in evidence on the Valencian scene: the concept of the unitary society, with its concomitant effect of a secondary citizenship for the subgroups; and the new confidence in rationalist argumentation.⁶⁶ The mischievous effects of these two elements could be more than sufficient to taint and unsettle group relations. In the human context, the unitary society was bound to raise more problems than it solved, however beguiling and logical it might seem in theory. And the confidence with regard to argumentation, by which the non-Christian was to be inexorably syllogized into the Church, was a course equally illusory, especially when taken up with naïve enthusiasm by the common man. The phenomenon itself was understandable enough, as the vigorous new mendicant orders carried to the frontier the philosophical revolution that had shaken, and in fresh form continued to shake, the academic centers in Europe. On the Valencian frontier it would appear, for example, in the public disputations to which the Moslems were coerced, in the bitter impatience which would be roused by their apparently willful clinging to Islam, and at its best in the brilliant if not always orthodox limits to which in these parts, the contemporary Raymond Lull would carry his program of the *novell saber*. But to have discerned such factors in our problem is not necessarily to have penetrated the nature of the Valencian prejudice. Prejudice itself, as distinct from its occasions and forms, may be a more mysterious force than the historian has hitherto been willing to concede. On this subject it might perhaps be prudent for the historian to initiate a dialogue with the social psychologist.

Certainly the freedom of the frontier, and the expansive work of those

⁶⁶ These two concepts, as applying to the Valencia of our period, are considered in the article mentioned in n. 6.

days of reconstruction, should have slackened the underlying tensions of individuals which trigger such cruelty. Is it significant, for instance, that the great riots came at the end of James's reign, when the first blush of victory, of land distribution, and of expansion had passed, and when the population at least in the coast cities was assuming more settled shape? It was only at this time, the closing years of King James's life, that the Christians would have attained sufficient numbers (and these mostly in the commercial centers) for such large-scale destruction.⁶⁷ As the country along the coast began to fill up, the two alien groups would be coming into ever closer contact and friction, and indeed the efforts of religious and secular leaders to prevent this mixing may not have been without its importance.

The principle of the primacy of conscience had been carefully elaborated by the theorists of the day, and promulgated by its lawyers. It was realized that discrimination and pressure not only would alienate non-Christians from Christianity but, what was more serious, would be equivalent to forced conversion which all condemned.⁶⁸ Unhappily, experience had not yet demonstrated sufficiently how inadequate, in the human context, is tolerance within a unitary society; nor had the idea of a pluralist society sufficiently evolved. Logic and law could penetrate the problem only so far. Without the solid foundation of shared social rights, mutual respect, and love, neither logic nor law could hold in rein the human passions.

⁶⁷ King James himself tells us there were not "en tot lo regne de Valencia" over thirty thousand Christian settlers in 1270. *Colección diplomática de Jaime I el Conqueridor*, ed. Ambrosio Huici (3 vols., Valencia, 1916-22), doc. 1341 (Nov. 26, 1270).

⁶⁸ Raymond of Peñafort, perhaps the greatest lawyer of Christendom at this time, compiler of the Decretals of Gregory IX, counselor to King James I, and master general of the Dominicans, sums up these ideas in his influential *Summa* (Verona, 1744). See especially *lib. I, tit. IV, No. 3*. The attitude is the reverse of that developing then toward dissident Christians.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The English Background of Modern Philanthropy

W. K. JORDAN*

IT would probably be agreed that modern philanthropy has its roots in sixteenth-century England. Since it would be difficult to argue that Englishmen are either more generous or more pious than other men, the reasons for the extraordinary welling up of charitable giving in the Tudor and Stuart periods are probably to be found in the historical developments of the age. It may be suggested, indeed, that the decisive causes are to be discovered in the peculiar nature of the English Reformation and, possibly even more importantly, in the amazing genius displayed by the great Tudors in the arts and responsibilities of governance.¹

The objectives of English philanthropy in the period under review (1480-1660) may be fairly accurately defined, and they were well understood by the close of the Elizabethan period, at least by the dominant groups in the society. By that date it was generally agreed that all men must somehow be sustained at the level of subsistence, that the hopelessly derelict were proper charges on the society, and that the state must intervene to secure these ends if private charity should fail. It was also generally agreed that means must be found to undertake the social rehabilitation of the poor and their children, to prevent wasting poverty wherever possible, and toward this great objective very impressive and extensive efforts were launched by a society which had determined to come to grips with the age-old problem of poverty. Finally,

* Mr. Jordan, professor at Harvard University, is interested principally in England during the Tudor and Stuart periods. Among his publications is *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* (4 vols., London, 1932-40).

¹ This essay, in a somewhat different form, was read before a session of the American Historical Association at its 1959 meeting. It is based on the author's studies of the development of philanthropy in ten representative English counties in the period 1480-1660. The results are being published in three volumes, of which two have thus far appeared: *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660*, and *The Charities of London, 1480-1660* (London and New York, 1959, 1960). The study rests principally on an examination of all wills containing charities which were proved in the period under examination, while an effort has been made as well to record the living gifts made by donors.

there was agreement, at least among the dominant elements in the society, that since poverty was spawned in ignorance, great and widespread private resources must be assembled to make available opportunities for education through the grammar school, on what can almost be described as a national scale.

These were truly heroic objectives. They were also very nearly achieved by the middle of the seventeenth century, only to be weakened by the great political crisis which dominated the last half of the century and to be largely lost in that interval of social inertia which was the eighteenth century. It is significant that there were more endowed free schools in England in 1650 than there were in 1850.

The great surge of charities which marks our period was accompanied by, very probably made possible by, a profoundly significant, and as time was to prove, an abiding shift in men's aspirations for their society. Though historians no longer lay undue emphasis on the "spiritual quality of life" in the Middle Ages, it nonetheless remains true that men's aspirations for their society in that era were expressed principally in religious terms. Their charitable impulses were directed largely toward religious causes, and the Church was the custodian even of funds given for secular uses. This old and pervasive view of the society began to give way well before that complex and revolutionary era which we call the Reformation. Men's interests and aspirations, as measured by their gifts and bequests, began to swing with amazing rapidity to intensely secular causes and needs, a cultural metamorphosis which was completed in the early years of Elizabeth, that most secular of all sovereigns. The immense sweep of this change can perhaps be documented when it is suggested that for the years 1480-1490 approximately two-thirds of all charitable benefactions in England were for religious purposes, while during the whole of the Elizabethan era not more than about 7 per cent of men's charities were designated for such uses.

Not all classes of men responded with equal energy or enthusiasm to the great cultural revolution which was clearly under way. Two classes of men, the merchants and the gentry, supplied the impetus and much of the wealth wherewith this momentous shift in men's interests was secured. The merchants, for example, during our whole period gave no more than 14 per cent of all their charitable wealth to religious causes, no more than a trifling 3 per cent in the Elizabethan interval. Not only was this true but, as importantly, these two great classes, on which the Tudor monarchy rested its foundations of policy, were incredibly generous in their outpouring of charitable wealth. Together, they supplied well over half of the immense total of charitable

wealth disposed during the long period under review. And most of this was given by the merchants. The merchants, as we know, a very small class centered principally in London, were to dispose the incredibly large proportion of 43 per cent of the whole of the charitable wealth of England. Even more remarkable is the fact that in those instances where the total wealth of merchant benefactors can be accurately estimated, they left somewhat more than 17 per cent of their fortunes for charitable purposes. These men knew what they wanted England to become, and they possessed the wealth and the generosity to secure their aspirations. It is perhaps not too much to say that they laid the foundations of the liberal society in the course of two generations.

The writer has been concerned with ten English counties, London (Middlesex) being one, in which during the years under examination the great sum of about £3,100,000 was dedicated by many thousands of generous men and women to a great variety of charitable causes. Since there is reason to believe that the counties in this sample accounted for about half the wealth of the realm, this would suggest that at least six million pounds were vested for charitable causes in our period, and most of that in trusts (endowments). This was a huge and a decisive sum indeed when we take into account the then national income and the purchasing power of money in the age. Moreover, it is important to relate that about half (46.43 per cent) of this stupendous total was provided in the short interval 1601-1640, when there was a vast outpouring of charitable wealth as men at last determined on a frontal assault on the festering problem of poverty and ignorance. In this historical respect, as in so many others, it may be said that the Elizabethan age found its flowering in the early seventeenth century.

This great achievement owed much to Tudor policy and to what one might with fair accuracy describe as the temper of the Tudor mind. Though we have sought to find it, we can discover no persuasive evidence that there was more of poverty, more of nakedness, or more of suffering in the sixteenth than in earlier centuries. It is very probable that the reverse is true. What we do find is an increasing sensitivity to human suffering and the rapidly mounting disposition to attempt to do something effective about it. One would scarcely present Henry VIII as a sensitive humanitarian; much less so his great daughter, who was surely one of the toughest-minded of all the race of men. But the great Tudors were almost intuitively concerned with public order and moved instantly when they thought it threatened. There was probably not so much of poverty in the sixteenth century as in earlier periods, but it was a different kind of poverty and it was certainly more dis-

turbing to public order. It was for one thing increasingly an urban phenomenon, as England began to experiment with an industrial civilization whose strengths and whose horrors it remained for the late eighteenth century fully to discover. It was also a disruptive poverty, fed by rural overpopulation, which resulted from the rooting up of men across the whole of the face of England. Men tended to starve quietly and inconspicuously in bad years and in marginal communities in the Middle Ages, but not most certainly in the sixteenth century. Poverty was now too public a phenomenon, there was the driving conscience of a Hugh Latimer, and there were his successors. And there were the sturdy beggars bred of dislocation and rootlessness.

The Tudors were keenly sensitive to this problem and the threat to public order which it posed. A stream of legislation sought to grapple with causes not fully understood and with a problem then only in slow process of definition. In the course of two generations this legislation may be said to have advanced from the view that poverty and unemployment could simply be proscribed by law to the great Elizabethan statutory codification which declared that the state itself must, if need be, see to it that the poor and hungry were sustained even in the remotest corners of the realm. As was so often the case with Elizabethan legislation, these great measures were precautionary—prudential—in their intent and in their application. In one sense, indeed, it was not until our own century that the state was obliged to move fully into the area of social need which the great Elizabethan law so classically described. The government lent every possible encouragement to private persons to assume burdens which were now fully understood, and behind this resolution there lay the full force of public opinion. A study of the records of the Overseers of the Poor would suggest that at no time before 1660 was more than a slight burden of responsibility ever assumed by taxation, by public intervention, so immediate, so sustained, and so generous was the private response. Private generosity, then, moved in to fill a great and an enlarging area of social need.

Many encouragements, many devices, were employed by those in authority to encourage the growth of private charity. None, however, was so effective as the great Elizabethan law of charitable trusts which in 1601 enabled men without much expense, with effective legal protection, and with full freedom from the statute of mortmain to project into perpetuity their aspirations for their own and future ages. The law of charitable uses was drawn with such liberality and with such imagination that its definitions became those accepted as law in England and the United States, as well. The

great instrumentality wherewith private wealth might be employed for the fabrication of the social institutions of the liberal society had been secured. One of the abiding traditions of the Western world had been fully fashioned.

Though we have described at some length the genesis of private and secular charity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we have said very little indeed about why these developments occurred at precisely this moment in history. To do this is to speak of motives, and to do that is to raise very important questions, the answers to which are in fact still relevant to our own age. The suggestions which we shall now try to supply must be as incomplete as they are unimpressive.

We are now concerned with an analysis of the motives which, as it were, impelled men to save their society from the state, albeit with the almost frantic encouragement of the central authority. What, in brief, were the impulses which caused a relatively small group of private donors to undertake in the course of our period, one can almost say in the span of about two generations, such a vast burden of social responsibility for a society which stood in considerable peril? Our question, quite exactly put, is what caused men to perform essentially noble, self-sacrificing actions, and particularly why they were considerably more inclined to do so in the rather tightly defined interval of a century extending from the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the restoration of the monarchy than in any other period before or possibly since? We here concern ourselves with human motives, and about them we can never speak with comfortable assurance. This is true, of course, even when we seek dispassionately to examine the moving forces underlying our own actions, our own decisions, and most particularly those occasional deeds of ours which may be believed to embrace some elements of nobility. What really animates our action when we subscribe to a hospital fund, endow a scholarship, found a college, or give casual alms to a passing beggar? Such benevolent actions, we may suppose, are at bottom taken because we are subtly subject to the pressures of a culture which regards such actions as worthy. They are in one sense, therefore, not free actions at all, but are a tithe levied upon our means by the ethic of a society of which we are part and to which we all must in greater or lesser degree conform. But even if this be so, the fact does not explain the true springs of our action, does not, as it were, elucidate and illumine the moment of decision. This most essential datum remains buried deep in the recesses of our nature, immune, perhaps happily, from the fumbling probing of the historian and, certainly happily, from the too arrogantly pitched inquiry of the psychoanalyst.

These difficulties of analysis, of arriving at understanding, are, needless to say, enormously increased as we seek to assess the impulses which moved men to generous and noble actions in a much earlier age. Not understanding the wellsprings of our own actions confers no impressive certification for discovering the motives for action in another and very different era. Moreover, this difficulty is greatly increased by the fact that we are dealing with an interval of time in which there was a profoundly important and most dramatic shift in the structure of men's aspirations for their society, when many men were taking great charitable decisions which did not enjoy the general approbation of their society, when they were evidently moved by impulses of nonconformity rather than of conformity. It is quite precisely this metamorphosis in men's aspirations from the needs of the religious society to the requirements of the secular society that principally concerns us, with the result that we must probe for motives which ran against an ethic prevailing in the Western world for a very long time.

Among the many roots of private charity, one surely was the increasing sensitivity to human pain and suffering which marked the sixteenth century in England. The anguish of a Nicholas Ridley when he described to Edward VI the poor, the cold, and the naked of London was felt by his auditors and moved his age. This concern, part religious and part intensely secular, mounted as the century wore on, and in the end pervaded the counting houses of the merchants quite as truly as it suffused the language of Sir Walter Raleigh speaking for the Poor Law on the floor of the House of Commons.

It may be suggested, too, that the tuition of the Tudors had a profound effect on men's private thinking. I have spoken of their amazing instinct for order, of their understanding that a realm in which men were desperate because they were hungry, dangerous because they were rootless, was one in which true peace and well-being could not be known. This view was generally accepted in the great debates on the Poor Law and it was constantly argued in the extensive hortatory literature of charity of the early seventeenth century. The motives may not have been particularly noble, but they were certainly enormously effective. We may observe in countless wills and deeds of gift an instinct for tidying up the kingdom, for polishing off the rough spots in the society, and establishing a floor of subsistence for all conditions of men.

Still another, and a very powerful motive or, more properly, impulse to charity flowed from Calvinism itself, as glossed by its English adherents. There is a considerable body of literature in which the teaching was developed that the rich man is a trustee for wealth which he disposes for the

benefit of mankind, as a steward who lies under direct obligation to do Christ's will. The Reformation repudiated with great violence one doctrine of works only to raise up another in which social pressures rather than the injunction of the priest determined the good works to be bestowed. Puritan preachers were as firm as they were persuasive in this matter, and they were by no means reluctant to assess the measure of good works over the bodies of their parishioners in their interminable funeral sermons. A habit of charity, a tradition of good works, got itself established in England which bore magnificent fruit and which few men dared ignore or even wished to ignore.

This great evangelical urge bore rich and precious fruits. It established new social and cultural values in the course of a half century which may be said to link the early seventeenth century far more closely to us than that century was linked to the Middle Ages. There was a new and an extensive literature which burgeoned out in praise of famous men, and these new heroes were the great benefactors who had founded hospitals, who had endowed schools, or who had created great stocks for the amelioration of the poor. Thomas Fuller's *Worthies of England* is only the most notable of these works in which the ideals and values of a new age were extolled. These new men, with new gifts for mankind, are the heroes, too, of that great history, John Stow's *Survey of London*, in which the proud annal of their achievement was set out in parish mounting upon parish as the institutions of a great city are described and its ethic delineated. In a word, the merchant, the tradesman, the urban dweller had at last attained status. The evangelical power of Calvinism had vested him with it.

There was, one regrets to say, another powerful and effective impulse not of such noble genesis, which we have elsewhere described as the resolution "to put the enemy to shame." The enemy was, of course, Rome and all its works. The early Protestant divines, and certainly their congregations, were keenly sensitive to the Romanist taunt that they had despoiled the monasteries, looted the chantries, and laid waste the doctrine of good works. So effective was this drumfire of criticism that Protestant apologists a generation after the dissolution of the monasteries had forgotten how slender had been the monastic relief of poverty. But by 1580 the realization came that already in England an edifice of charity had been reared which stood incomparable in all Europe. For the next two generations there was an exciting and an eloquent literature of exhortation to prove even further the inherent virtue in the Protestant faith by rearing the edifice of compassion still higher and on even nobler lines. Few men in England found themselves exempt from the weight and force of these exhortations.

Finally, in this most tentative and briefly stated analysis of the motives underlying the great outpouring of charity in the early seventeenth century, we must mention the undoubted power of example. In many hundreds of English parishes a school was founded, loan funds endowed, or stocks for the poor established, whether by a long-forgotten local boy who had prospered in London, by a prosperous and sensitive yeoman, or by a zealous and determined clergyman. These institutions had immediate and startlingly beneficent social consequences in the favored parish. The whole level of life and of opportunity was lifted and such a parish shone among its duller neighbors. In almost every instance, one such gift inspired another until with the lapse of a generation or two a whole fabric of charitable institutions had been founded by private generosity and the area of opportunity had been vastly enlarged in such parishes. And then the stolid squire in the adjoining parish was in his turn moved, nay, almost forced, to beneficent action, and then a London merchant came to the rescue of the parish that lay still beyond. Thus it was that a creeping tide of charity flowed across the whole of England, watering and enriching the soil in which our ideals and our institutions have put down deep and abiding roots.

★ ★ ★ ★ *Reviews of Books* ★ ★ ★ ★

General

THE EDGE OF OBJECTIVITY: AN ESSAY IN THE HISTORY OF SCIENTIFIC IDEAS. By *Charles Coulston Gillispie*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. 562. \$7.50.)

THIS is an ambitious and challenging book. In his prefatory remarks, which Mr. Gillispie puts with intentional perversity at the end, he declares, "I hope that this book will help win for history of science a place in historiography comparable in interest and professionalism to that which the philosophy of science has for long held in philosophy." Based upon his stimulating lectures at Princeton, this book is therefore addressed to the historian. Its purpose is not "to recount in summary the whole history of science from Galileo to Mendel. Instead its purpose is to set out in narrative form what I take to be the structure in the history of classical science. This I find in the route which the advancing edge of objectivity has in fact taken through the study of nature from one science to another." By "objectivity" Gillispie means something other than "positivism"; he finds his heroes in those who have done most to "objectify" science (it is a verb he uses often) by advancing scientific knowledge through rigorous mathematical logic seasoned with attention to experiment. At every stage in science, in Gillispie's view, a certain measure of objectification can be expected; his history describes transitions from one level to the next. Necessarily, each scientist in the narrative, including such great names as Galileo, Harvey, Newton, Lavoisier, Darwin, Mendel, Fresnel, Maxwell, and Einstein, is assessed according to his success in objectification. Gillispie's standards are high: Lavoisier did better than Priestley (his interest in quantitative analysis and some rather obscure attempts at writing chemical equations rate as objective), but ultimately failed because he did not do Dalton's work as well as his own. Fresnel is necessarily more admirable than Young, Mendel than Darwin, Maxwell than Faraday, whom Gillispie pities for his lack of mathematics without seeing that he possessed the rarer ability of superb theoretical imagination (theoretical science is not identical with mathematization). It is a pity that the all too common estimate of Maxwell as the author of Maxwell's equations and no more is repeated, for it makes his choice as the first Professor of Experimental Physics at Cambridge incomprehensible.

Within his thesis, Gillispie sustains a lively and enthusiastic narrative which carries the reader along on those aspects of the story which he has selected. (The final chapter, on theoretical physics, suffers from the neglect of experimental physics which, in the late nineteenth century, was after all to lead to the beginning of modern atomic physics.) One should be stimulated to explore further, assisted by

the excellent bibliographic essay. Writing for historians, Gillispie was perhaps ill advised to eschew so thoroughly what he calls "the barnacles of scholarly apparatus"; it would be helpful to have the source of the quotations which he draws from a wide knowledge and lively perception of the relevant. It is a pity that he has not troubled to be more accurate: names are misspelled; Christian names given wrongly; dates are incorrect, even inconsistently so. There are minor errors of fact, some of them misleading: the diagram on page eighteen contradicts both the text and geometry; on page 494, Becquerel is given credit for the work of Roentgen; the book by Servetus (page sixty-seven) was not widely read, and so on. This is perhaps the inevitable result of the same enthusiasm that prompts Gillispie to venture beyond what scientists have said to what they might have said had they thought like him.

But the brilliance and flair of the narrative will be for many readers compensation enough, and a narrative that is never dull or trite is admirable even with the disadvantage of inaccuracy. Many parts of this book will make the historian reflect with new interest on familiar events. The chapter on eighteenth-century chemistry is one of the best in the book, and it is no small achievement to turn this often told and muddled chronicle into such a clear narrative. Personally I regret that Gillispie has not chosen to deal with aspects of nineteenth-century biology other than evolutionary doctrine. But to wish that an author had written more than he has is perhaps the greatest compliment that a reviewer can give.

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POLITICS AND VISION: CONTINUITY AND INNOVATION IN WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT. By *Sheldon S. Wolin*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1960. Pp. x, 529. \$7.50.)

Politics and Vision examines "some of the continuing and changing concerns" of political philosophy and is frankly historical and selective in approach. The first of ten chapters discusses the character of traditional political philosophy; each of the other nine focuses on an age and seminal author or authors, examining from this vantage the problems raised by its subject. Briefly the order is this: the Greek disengagement of the political from the natural order; the age of empire when classical political thought appeared "hopelessly municipal"; the new concepts of the sacred writers and fathers of the early Christian Church; Luther's theology and politics; Calvin's resolution, for the Protestant, of the spiritual and temporal; Machiavelli's relation to political action in the new circumstances of the day; Hobbes's novel attempt to understand political society as "governed by rules"; the rather disturbing effect of the liberal philosophies of John Locke and Adam Smith; the age of organization and recent, even contemporary, conceptions of the political. No serious student of the Western tradition can afford to neglect this brilliant and original contribution to scholarship.

Sheldon S. Wolin clearly defines his purpose and faithfully performs announced

intentions. The book is weighty and, though not for idle browsing, is absorbingly interesting. The style is excellent, and great discrimination has been exercised in the selection both of authors analyzed and of phrases illustrative of their ideas. By limiting the number of writers discussed, Wolin has been able to go deeply into some very important problems. He has explored available sources and judiciously utilized recent critical material. This is both a learned and a useful book and will provoke discussion for a long time to come. The last chapter, for example, could well provide a starting point for many a seminar exploration of the problems of our own society, its relation to past philosophies and to new forms of totalitarianism. Even the notes add pithy definitions and further well-chosen quotations.

In a brief notice no more than a taste of Wolin's rich offering can be given. On the social covenant as "the highest expression of political creativity," he cites Hobbes's comparison of political pacts and covenants to the "let us make man" pronounced by the Creator and points out that Paine and Jefferson were but faithful echoes of the philosopher of Malmesbury in insisting on the birthright of every generation to re-create society. In the chapter on liberalism Wolin stresses the transformation of the older notions of common good posited by reason to one rooted in desire. He turns briefly to the *Federalist* for the solution offered by liberals to group rivalries or factions in the extension of a federal republic over "a greater sphere of country." The Federalists, he points out in another connection, accepted as axiomatic that the shape of constitutional government was dictated by the selfish nature of man and worked to constitutionalize a Hobbesian society and to arrange institutions in such a manner "that human drives would cancel each other" or "be deflected toward the common good." The tendency thus was not toward the development of a political philosophy nor toward the selection and training of leaders but toward the best preventative of maladministration and the abuse of power, a negative system where good orders produce good men.

The author contends that modern totalitarianism has reasserted the political and the positive with a vengeance. Everything is oriented toward political goals and works to instill in citizens a strong sense of order. He asks whether the task of nontotalitarian states is not to temper the excesses of pluralism. Special roles for the individual are no substitute for full citizenship, citizenship providing "an integrative experience which brings together the multiple role activities." Political art or science must be broader than the mechanism of any group or organization. Political theory must concern itself with political order, making faithful decisions in "an age haunted by the possibility of unlimited destruction."

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CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE POLITICS OF THE DEVELOPING AREAS. By James S. Coleman et al.
 Edited by Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University. 1960. Pp. xii, 591. \$10.00.)

THIS is both too ambitious and too important a book for a short review. The authors, scholars of repute and distinction, have closely worked together within a strictly defined theoretical framework. What they have produced is thus a truly collaborative work, not just another symposium. Professor Almond's introductory, theoretical essay on "A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics" is followed by a review of seventy-odd polities grouped in five area chapters devoted to Southeast Asia (Lucian L. Pye), South Asia (Myron Weiner), Sub-Saharan Africa (James S. Coleman), the Near East (Dunkwart A. Rustow), and Latin America (George I. Blanksten). The book culminates in Professor Coleman's essay, "The Political Systems of the Developing Areas," in which he surveys and processes the data with a view to arriving at tentative conclusions and hypotheses.

Almond's challenging and closely argued behavioral theory is couched in difficult, at times even forbidding, language. Quite briefly, politics is here discussed in terms of "structures" and "functions" rather than in terms of institutions. Explicitly rejecting *a priori* contrasts between "West" and "non-West," Almond and his associates view politics in a global continuum. The ultimate aim of the new theory is to "improve our capacity to predict the trend of political development in modernizing states. . . ." This is to be achieved by "thinking of the polity as being representable by a set of frequencies recorded on a series of matrices."

Somewhat less demanding in scope and style, the area chapters are nonetheless unlikely to be accorded universal approval by historians. There will doubtless be skeptics unwilling to grant the feasibility or desirability of constructing historical and political profiles spanning entire regions, most of them unconnected by factors other than geographic proximity, and as often as not embracing widely divergent traditions, histories, and political systems. They may with a fair measure of justification argue that neither primary sources nor monographic literature are at this time even remotely adequate for such bold, if not premature, ventures. I harbor such misgivings to some extent, but am willing to plead that our admittedly vast ignorance should only temper any intelligent effort at generalizing.

Let me illustrate this fence-sitting attitude by Pye's brilliant and provocative tour de force on Southeast Asia. Deeply impressed as I am with his often acute reading and presentation of Southeast Asia's past and present, I have three major criticisms. First, I miss in Pye's comparative method any significant reference to social, especially class, structure. In some instances at least it would seem to be more fruitful than either Pye's reliance on behavioral or purely political factors or his endeavors to deduce contemporary political systems from their alleged, but sometimes inaccurately diagnosed, antecedents in colonial practice. Social analysis can better account for the success, so far, of representative government in Malaya than can Pye's somewhat tenuous argument. Far more important, such analysis should have been a *sine qua non* for any discussion of Philippine history and politics. Its absence may account for Pye's rather perplexing classification of the Philippine polity as a truly "competitive" democracy.

This leads directly to a second criticism, that of inaccuracy. Like most of us,

Pye is more at home in some parts of Southeast Asia than in others. Even then, however, it is regrettable that inaccuracies of greater or lesser magnitude have been allowed to mar his presentation of countries other than Burma and Malaya. For the sake of brevity I limit myself to a few, primarily Indonesian, examples. It was not Arab, but Indian, traders who carried Islam to Southeast Asia; the Dutch, far from applying "indirect" rule throughout the Indonesian archipelago, actually ruled most of Java, the heartland of their Indian empire, "directly"; *Masjumi* was not organized in the 1920's but in 1943; and finally, in neither national nor regional elections has the Indonesian Communist party emerged as the dominant party on Java.

Third, on reading Pye's chapter I have once again been assailed by a generic discomfort caused by the suspicion that at times the political wish is teleological godfather to historical truth. The "background" chapters, it is true, are distinctly superior because of the caliber of their authors. But Pye's treatment of the colonial era and of the political significance of religion in precolonial Southeast Asia cannot be totally absolved from the accusation of "applied," teleological quasi history.

Like Almond's introductory essay, Coleman's conclusion does not readily fall within the purview of the historian, especially of one untrained in statistical method. In spite of this shortcoming, a few vital questions are in point, all of them related to what Coleman has termed the "one major hypothesis" of the work. According to this hypothesis a positive correlation exists between economic development ("one crucial dimension of the process of modernization") and political competitiveness ("an essential attribute of democracy"). What does this "positive correlation" mean in terms of causality? Is a high level of economic development the most important prerequisite for democracy, or does democracy, conversely, provide the essential preconditions for economic growth?

There arises also the question of the usefulness of political indexes. Leaving aside the problem of subjectivity which, as Coleman acknowledges, inevitably besets the classification of political systems, frequent, rapid, and often far-reaching political change is one of the best-known generic hallmarks of most "new states." Several of them have, in fact, already moved out of the categories assigned to them since the book was published. How valid are correlations based on such ephemeral factors for the formulation of a presumably predictive, "probabilistic" theory?

These misgivings are dwarfed, however, by a historical scrutiny of the statistics and thus of the working hypothesis itself. Not only is it true that the developing areas are, and for quite some time are likely to remain, in a state of flux; they have, after all, been undergoing important changes in the past. Strange as it may seem, these historical changes are unrecorded and unanalyzed in these pages. Certainly, the statistics appear to support the hypothesis; there is, for example, a "positive correlation" between the Argentine economy and the barely established and hard-pressed Argentine democracy. But the statistics are misleadingly one-dimensional. This becomes obvious once we ask whether the level of economic development in Perón's Argentina, or that in formerly colonial countries such as Ceylon,

Morocco, Tunisia, the Gold Coast, and Malaya, was appreciably lower under the far from "competitive" systems of yesteryear. By way of final comment, let us leave the book just long enough to realize that Germany and Japan in the nineteenth century and the Soviet Union and Communist China in the twentieth lend themselves, with little trouble and far greater justification, to the positing of a working hypothesis diametrically opposed to that of Coleman and his associates.

None of these criticisms should be allowed to detract from the importance and value of this book. I have no doubt that the sweep of systematization, the endeavor to see politics on a global scale in terms of development and growth, and the willingness of these pioneering political scientists to roam freely and excitingly over the fields of various disciplines mark a real turning point, and almost certainly a point of departure, in our understanding of the "developing areas." To see generic trees in the often impenetrable monographic woods takes courage and vision. Historians could do far worse than to take a leaf from the authors.

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FROM EMPIRE TO NATION: THE RISE TO SELF-ASSERTION OF ASIAN AND AFRICAN PEOPLES. By *Rupert Emerson*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 466. \$7.75.)

WE who have been brought up to believe that political democracy is the norm for human society and that nondemocratic practices are a woeful deviation from this norm, subject to legitimate criticism, now see more to deplore than to applaud in Indonesia, Cuba, and the Congo, as well as the Communist countries.

Many questions arise. Are the peoples who until recently lived under the colonial rule of Western powers capable of governing themselves? Or would they be better off if they remained wards of politically advanced nations? Is Western democracy practicable in such areas as the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and Latin America which, although located in the Western Hemisphere, faces many of the same problems as Ceylon, Pakistan, Egypt, and Ghana? Most important for Americans who see the struggle for power of the twentieth century as a confrontation between good and evil, democracy and Communism, which of the two ideologies will carry the day?

In this volume Rupert Emerson performs a very useful service by presenting a broad survey of the progress of the newly emerging countries along the rocky road "from empire to nation." While he focuses his study on "the rise to self-assertion of Asian and African peoples," the author also wisely weaves in examples drawn from the experiences of the Middle Eastern and Latin American countries.

A comparative study in this as yet relatively unexplored field was urgently needed. This book should be of great value in college courses on international relations and comparative government as well as for supplementary reading in the many non-Western area studies that are springing up in our colleges and universities. Its avoidance of professional jargon makes it far more interesting than *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, edited by Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman.

It is unfortunate, however, that inordinate length and often difficult style will discourage the general reader who could gain much from an analysis that stimulates the imagination by perceptive choice of contrasts and comparisons.

Emerson would not hold back the tide of national independence which has been sweeping the world since 1914, however disappointing its immediate political results may prove both for the Western nations and for their former colonial subjects. By the end of World War II, he says, "Colonies had ceased to be the private preserve of their imperial owners . . ." Nor does he hurl at the Western powers the unqualified criticisms of colonial rule which were common in American teaching of the 1920's and 1930's. The future historian, he believes, may "look back upon the overseas imperialism of recent centuries, less in terms of its sins of oppression, exploitation, and discrimination, than as the instrument by which the spiritual, scientific, and material revolution which began in Western Europe with the Renaissance was spread to the rest of the world."

Nationalism, however, "can furnish only part of the answer" to the difficult political, economic, and social problems faced by the emerging nations. The task of solving these problems "is vast enough to occupy the best efforts of mankind well into the future." The "disorganized world of massive armaments and constant threats of war" into which the new nations are emerging "is conducive neither to sensible handling of the aftermath of imperialism nor, for that matter, even to bringing imperialism to an end, as the peoples emerging from the imperialist shadows are apprehensively aware."

Under these circumstances, it is difficult to see how Western political institutions can be expected to develop in non-Western countries in the visible future. From the West's point of view, the best hope is that its aid programs "will begin to eliminate the poverty and frustration which might otherwise lead peoples into the Communist camp." Skepticism about the future of the new nations should not "prevent or corrode the West's creative participation in a process which marks one of the great turning points in history. . . ."

Emerson steers a middle course between stark pessimism and bouyant optimism about the future of the new nations. In his opinion, "One of the greatest of the unanswered and unanswerable questions . . . is whether nations can supersede themselves, merging in some fashion in the pursuit of a larger common interest," and thus produce "an organized international society which could guarantee peace."

University of Rochester

VERA MICHELES DEAN

VSEMIRNAIA ISTORIIA [Universal History]. Volume VI. Edited by N. A. Smirnov et al. (Moscow: Publishing House for Socio-Economic Literature. 1959. Pp. 829. 40 rubles.)

THE *Universal History* of which this volume is a part is an ambitious undertaking by leading Soviet scholars, aided by historians of Eastern Europe, China, and Korea.

Volume VI, covering the period from 1789 to 1871, is lavishly illustrated with contemporary engravings and paintings, some of them in color, and has excellent maps. It contains an extensive bibliography, indexes, and chronological tables. This is an attractive and well-made book.

The approach of the numerous contributing authors is frankly Marxist, but due to careful scholarship, their findings in most instances are fairly close to those of Western historians. Although they hold that capitalism has often been harsh and oppressive, they favor the advance toward it from feudalism as a progressive development. Thus they view the French Revolution as a popular movement dominated by the bourgeoisie, which achieved many needed reforms but, as in the Le Chapelier Law, protected the interests of the propertied and suppressed the popular movements of the *enragés* and Babeuf. Napoleon, often reactionary, and guided by bourgeois desires, introduced valuable reforms and carried the ideas of the French Revolution to the rest of Europe. There is much emphasis on Russia's role in defeating Napoleon in 1812, although Russian participation in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 receives little attention. Treatment of the Bourbon Restoration, the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848, and the Industrial Revolution in England is also fairly standard. Where this work differs from most Western histories is its stress on radical movements such as the United Irishmen, the Tugendbund, the *Carbonari*, the Chartists, the Decembrists, Young Italy, and similar organizations.

After describing the revolutions in Latin America the narrative turns to the United States, giving a thorough and generally well-balanced treatment of the American scene to 1850. The obvious favor for the abolitionists, however, and the tendency to view the poor whites of the South as mere tools of the planter aristocracy, weaken this otherwise careful and perceptive chapter.

The scene next shifts to Turkey and the Eastern Question of the 1830's and 1840's and British policy in India and Afghanistan. There is an extensive discussion of the Opium Wars, British and American exploitation of China, and the Taiping uprising. The Babid revolt in Iran in the 1840's, the Indian insurrections of 1857-1859, Korea in mid-century, and the fall of the shogunate in Japan are the subjects of additional chapters. In all these the uncompromising Marxist outlook is evident: one can discover no admission that imperialist penetration had any purpose but exploitation. The authors flatly reject the concept of the white man's burden.

Another portion of the volume discusses the striving of the peoples of Europe to secure liberty and national independence. The efforts of Magyars, Italians, Czechs, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bulgarians, Rumanians, and Poles against Hapsburgs, Ottomans, or Romanovs occupy much of the later chapters. In their consideration of the unification of Italy and Germany the authors roundly condemn the machinations of Cavour, Napoleon III, and Bismarck as unprincipled chicanery. There are also effective chapters on Russian serfdom, the growing opposition movement, and the emancipation of 1861 after the Russian failure in the Crimean War.

The section on the American Civil War portrays this conflict as one fought over the slavery issue, which was solved by the victory of the North, aided by

considerable Negro support. The author warmly approves of Reconstruction, although he regrets that the Negroes did not receive land.

One of the book's leading features is an account of the careers of Marx and Engels and the development of the Marxist movement and the First International. The authors trace the efforts of these leaders to encourage the revolutionary spirit, the opposition of Proudhon and Bakunin, and the failure of most British, French, German, and Italian radicals to follow the true Marxist path. The reader receives evidence that Marx had strong hopes that peasants could be won to socialism through the advantages of a collective type of agriculture and that he and his followers made strenuous efforts to persuade French and German workers to oppose war in 1870.

The final 130 pages of the text deal with the literature and art of the period, discussed country by country, and with the developments in technology and natural science. In these sections these achievements are considered in their proper social and economic setting.

In general this volume presents impressive evidence of the high level of Soviet historical scholarship. The editors, avoiding a narrow European outlook, have given an effective global treatment to the history of this period, and the contributors have ably handled their assignments. The result is a book that is worthy of respectful consideration.

Duke University

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS

A SOVIET VIEW OF THE AMERICAN PAST: AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF THE SECTION ON AMERICAN HISTORY IN THE *GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA* (*BOLSHAIA SOVETSKAIA ENTSIKLOPEDIA*). Translated by *Ann E. Yancko* and *Peter A. Kersten*. Edited with an introduction by *O. Lawrence Burnette, Jr.*, and *William Converse Haygood*. Annotated by *Warren L. Wittry et al.* Preface by *Adlai E. Stevenson*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1960. Pp. 64. \$1.00.)

THIS volume is a translation of the section devoted to American history in the article on the United States in Volume XXXIX of the second edition of the *Bolshaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia*. Publication of the second edition was launched by the Soviet Council of Ministers in 1949 "to show the superiority of Socialist culture over the culture of the capitalist world." The editors include some of the most able and distinguished Soviet scholars, and the Soviet Communist party's deep interest in an authoritative revision of this important set is reflected in the relative speed with which this edition has been completed and published by its staff of approximately 460, aided by 7,500 specialists from various fields.

The thirty-ninth volume was printed in 1956, three years after Stalin's death and before the Polish and Hungarian revolts in that year added a new tone to the Soviet view of the West. The article devoted to the United States covers pages 557-654, and this little book is a translation of pages 558-611, the section con-

cerning American history. It is a sound, but not a distinguished translation, which preserves the dull spirit of Soviet writing. The notes, contributed by a number of American scholars, are most useful, and the editors' introduction is illuminating and valuable.

This article is not as friendly toward the United States as that in the first edition, published in 1945. It is, nevertheless, far more professional, balanced, and judicious than most of the works on American history published in the Soviet Union since World War II. Americans will be impressed by the standard Communist terminology, the emphasis upon imperialism as a basic factor in our history, and the stress placed upon repression of minorities, particularly Negroes, and upon the "monopolies." The Soviet scholars betray not only a powerful bias in their interpretations, but striking ignorance and distortion. Thus, the fundamental causes of the Civil War escape our Soviet colleagues; the Fourteen Points are described as imperialistic and as a screen for American assistance to Japan against Russia; the United States was pro-German in the 1930's and "facilitated the Munich Pact" (the Nazi-Soviet agreement of August 1939 is not mentioned); and American trade-union leaders have always betrayed the labor movement.

This is an excellent example of contemporary Soviet scholarship with the distortions and misconceptions that are almost a part of the atmosphere in Russia. A translation of the complete article on the United States would have been even more useful, particularly if supplemented by translations of other selected articles, such as those on the National Association of Manufacturers and the American Federation of Labor. But we should all be grateful for this glimpse of the Russian view of the United States.

Indiana University

ROBERT F. BYRNES

BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE: THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE. By *Herbert Feis*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 367. \$6.50.)

THE Potsdam Conference, held between war and peace, proved to be the nearest thing to, as it was indeed also the farthest thing from, a general European peace. One could not expect from currently available sources a more dispassionate or objective appraisal of the complex issues between Soviet Russia and the Western powers that confronted the partners to the strange alliance as victory over Germany came in Europe. There was the multiple German question, the Polish question, the transfer of German satellites to a similar status in the Soviet Union; the position of France, Italy, the Near East, Iran, and Spain; and the creation of a new league of nations at the San Francisco Conference. Fear of defeated Germany was overshadowed in the West by the fear of Soviet Communist domination of Europe. Mr. Feis examines methodically, closely, and perspicaciously the background of each of the issues that were clouding the prospect of peace as Harry Hopkins met

with Stalin in Moscow in a preliminary conference to arrange for a meeting of the victorious Big Three.

The three heads of state did not gather at Potsdam in the warm personal glow of mutual military association that put such an aura of hope on the previous meeting at Yalta. With a semblance of cooperation they faced each other across the table. Stalin was invincibly determined to reap the Soviet harvest. Churchill divined the implacable reach of Soviet power more readily than Truman with his inherited Rooseveltian hopes for continued cooperation with Russia. The adventitious new President was eager to conclude European affairs and return home to continue war with Japan. He had taken the secret of the atomic bomb to Potsdam. Both he and the savior of England had confidence that it could hold Russia back from further advances. Feis feels that the inscrutable Stalin already knew this before Truman told him "casually" that the United States had just successfully developed a new weapon of "unusual destructive force." In a masterly understatement the author concludes that the USSR under Stalin's unrelenting direction came through the Potsdam negotiations unscathed. That certainly is more than can be said for the other Big Three participants.

Feis had the particular advantage of being able to consult the collection of official records which the Department of State is now preparing for publication on the Potsdam Conference—a companion volume to the documents brought out several years ago on the previous conferences in Malta and Yalta. He used an English translation of the Soviet official publication of correspondence between the Big Three from 1941 to 1945, printed in Moscow, Winston Churchill's presentation of the war's diplomatic history, Sherwood's *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, and President Truman's printed *Memoirs*. He also had access to the pertinent papers of Averell Harriman, ambassador to Russia, Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State at the time of Potsdam, and former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes. Though a magnificent sequence to the author's recent *Churchill-Roosevelt-Stalin*, Feis's fine volume cannot be definitive because the unpublished archives of the several governments are not yet available. What is presently available, however, is handled in a masterly manner.

Most closely associated in the public mind with the word Potsdam is the famous Potsdam Declaration to Japan setting forth the terms for her surrender, proclaimed to the world by the United States, Great Britain, and China. Feis does not develop this subject at all, perhaps because Russia nominally was not a party to the Declaration.

Yale University

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

Ancient and Medieval

A HISTORY OF GREECE TO 322 B. C. By *N. G. L. Hammond*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xxi, 689. \$8.00.)

We are often assured that a new history of Greece is based upon a critical examination of the sources and embodies the results of the latest scholarship. But Greek history is a very broad field indeed and a perusal of the book, more often than not, leaves us with a certain feeling of skepticism. The unique feature of Hammond's work is that the two usual claims appear to be completely justified.

Hammond knows Greece intimately (he served there with distinction during the war). He takes advantage of his knowledge in his introduction ("The Geography of the Greek Peninsula and Islands"), an admirable exposition of the topography and climate. He then marks off the history into six books: "The Early Civilizations of Greece and the Great Migrations (c. 3000-850)," "The Renaissance of Greece (850-546)," "The Triumph of Greece (546-466)," "The Great Wars between Athens and Sparta (466-404)," "The Period of Transient Hegemonies (404-354)," "The Rise and Expansion of Macedon." The eight appendixes contain supplementary information of interest and the author's answers to certain disputed questions. The plates and figures increase the reader's pleasure and understanding. A reasonably full index will prove useful.

Hammond's approach is always fresh. For almost every paragraph the ancient sources are supplied, and these include more than the well-known names. Thus the reader is constantly reminded of the basic evidence, an excellent factor in this age in which the student tends to pay such exaggerated homage to the textbook. Citations of modern scholarship are minimized; on occasion Hammond refers to his own work for the exposition of opinions that might otherwise appear dogmatic or heretical.

The most impressive section is Book I. Until recently most of us could have boasted that we "knew" Greek history more or less thoroughly. This is no longer true of the second millenium B.C., the Mykenaian Age. The discovery at Pylos, first in 1939, of tablets inscribed in Linear B led eventually to the identification of the language as an early form of Greek ("Mykenaian"). This identification, plus the steady excavation of Greek and adjacent lands, has compelled us to re-examine our concept of the interrelationships of the states of the Eastern Mediterranean before about 1000 B.C. The re-examination has been carried on piecemeal in the journals. Now for the first time all this new knowledge has been made an integral part of Greek history, and we are granted a clear perspective. This is, perhaps, the most significant of the many important contributions in this book. Along with the very new, Hammond also accepts the very old. He places such singular credence in the traditions reported by later Greek writers that some will think him a little naïve.

Because Hammond is independent, he will not always convince. I think, for

example, he goes astray in his description of the constitution of the Confederacy of Delos; nor do I subscribe to his account of the detailed administration of the Athenian Empire. His presentation of the troubles of the Greek states in the fourth century, however, possesses delicate understanding and comprehensibility. His military history, reflecting experience and travel, is written with the firm confidence of the expert.

The history of Greece published as a textbook for the survey course with which we in Canada and the United States are familiar is common. Hammond's book is too adult for this purpose and invites comparison only with Bury, which, despite its revision, is more than half a century old. Bury remains useful, of course, but Hammond will surely become the standard history of its class. For the advanced undergraduate and graduate student it will be indispensable. It is also the book to recommend to the curious layman.

University of British Columbia

MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR

DEMOKRATIA, THE GODS, AND THE FREE WORLD. By *James H. Oliver*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 192. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Oliver argues that the political change in Greek city-states from ordained kingship to democracy had a strong religious content, evidenced by a change either in the gods worshipped by the state or at least in the epithets of traditional gods. Thus the old royal gods, the *theoi basileioi*, became the gods of free communities, *theoi eleutheroi*, and eventually, as there developed a sense of a common Hellenic freedom, *theoi hellenioi*. The democratic significance of certain divinities, notably of *Nike-Victoria*, lasted into the Hellenistic period and was taken over by the Romans, to survive even under the late Empire.

Oliver develops this argument in six chapters and an appendix, to which he has added a select bibliography, a list of significant dates, an index of passages explained, and an index of names and subjects. The chapters are actually specialized studies. They demand from the reader familiarity with Greek, linguistics, archaeology, and other technical tools of classical scholarship. This is especially true of the first, longest, and most important chapter, which analyzes the transition from Mycenaean kingship, as found in Homer and the Linear B tablets, to an aristocratic "democracy," with principal emphasis on developments at Sparta but with consideration also of Athens. The second chapter studies the ephorate at Sparta and compares the Spartan constitution with that created in Rome by the aristocratic (patrician) revolt against the kings and substitution of tribunes and consuls for them. In this chapter and elsewhere, the author maintains that city-states arose in Italy under early, strong Greek influence and were not indigenous. He suggests such possible evidence for this as a derivation of the Etruscan word for a chief magistrate, *purth(ne)*, from the Greek *prytanis*. The third chapter uses Euripides' *Hecuba* as the basis for a discussion of freedom and the rule of law in Athenian democracy and the development therefrom of the worship of a personified *Demokratia*.

and the Graces, or *Charites*, symbolizing the kindly leniency of democratic procedure, and of Aphrodite *Pandemos*, representing the mutual affection that citizens should feel for one another. The brief fourth chapter shows the significance of *Nike* on a fourth-century vase representing the defeat of Darius, where she is held to represent the victory given to the Greeks by Zeus as defender of the social order of the free world. The fifth and sixth trace the concepts of the *eleutheroi theoi* and of *Nike-Victoria* through the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The short appendix illustrates the main argument from three oracles preserved in an inscription of the third century B.C. from Paros.

These studies, supported as they are by wide scholarship and ingenious interpretation, will arouse both admiration and discussion among classical scholars. The nonspecialist reader will have difficulty following the argument because of its highly technical character and particularly because both the individual chapters and the whole book lack any clear, unencumbered statement of the main thesis, other than a brief paragraph in the introduction.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

THE LOST HISTORIES OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By Lionel Pearson.
[Philological Monographs, Number 20.] ([New York:] American Philological Association. 1960. Pp. xv, 275. \$8.00.)

His own highly articulate age recognized the enormous historical significance of Alexander's career. Some twenty of his contemporaries, three of whom were senior officers in his army, are known to have written about him. And yet the continuous narratives that have come down to us—Arrian, Plutarch, Diodorus, Quintus Curtius—were all written centuries after his death. Numerous other authors of the Roman period have material on Alexander drawn from more or less reliable antecedents; even the fanciful Alexandrian romance that goes under the name of Callisthenes contains material that cannot be ignored.

To distinguish the strands in the mass, identify their authors, and determine their prejudices, credibility, and chronological relationships is an enterprise as fascinating as it is profitable, and many scholars have addressed themselves to it during the past century. The individual fragments are now assigned to their several authors, excellently edited and commented upon in F. Jacoby's *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*; they are expertly discussed and evaluated in W. W. Tarn's *Alexander the Great*; and they are translated in C. A. Robinson, Jr.'s *The History of Alexander the Great*.

Professor Pearson's contribution is a useful and stimulating supplement to these works. His object "is not so much to throw light on the historical problem of Alexander as to attempt a new chapter in the history of Greek literature—namely, to investigate the peculiarities of the different historians of Alexander, especially those who accompanied him on his expedition or were of such age that they might have done so." Separate chapters are devoted to Callisthenes, Onesicritus, Nearchus,

Aristobulus, Ptolemy, and Cleitarchus, and there are chapters on "Reminiscence, Gossip, and Propaganda" and on "Rhetoricians, Antiquarians, and Others." These are examples of Pearson's approach. Onesicritus, who admired Alexander, is known to have modeled himself upon Xenophon, and on the basis of a note in Diogenes Laertius it was thought the book he imitated was the *Cyropedia*. By showing that the model was actually the *Anabasis* Pearson is able to explain certain peculiarities in Onesicritus' account. The Herodotean coloring in the material which Arrian drew from Nearchus suggests that Nearchus assimilated his outlook as well as expression to Herodotus'. On the other hand, Nearchus' account of Alexander's return from India has the *Odyssey* in view, and this explains choice of incidents and distribution of emphasis.

Interesting as such insights are to the student of literature, they serve the historian also by providing gauges of credibility and chronology. Under the latter heading Pearson's chief contribution is establishing the chronological sequence Aristobulus-Ptolemy-Cleitarchus. If some of his constructions must perforce rest on tenuous foundations, all illuminate the subject. Pearson's book adds to our knowledge of Alexandrian historians and is a model of perceptive *Quellenforschung*.

Columbia University

MOSES HADAS

L'OCCIDENT ROMAIN: GAULE, ESPAGNE, BRETAGNE, AFRIQUE DU NORD (31 AV. J. C. À 235 AP. J. C.). RACINES CELTIQUES ET STRUCTURES ROMAINES D'UNE COMMUNAUTÉ; PACIFICATIONS RÉUSSIES ET CONQUÊTES INACHEVÉES; PÉNÉTRATION AFRICAINE ET RENCONTRE AVEC L'OCÉAN; MOUVEMENTS INDIGÈNES ET DÉBATS DE CONSCIENCE NATIONAUX; PROGRESSION, STABILISATION ET FORTIFICATION DES FRONTIÈRES; URBANISATION ET ROMANISATION; MISE EN VALEUR ET CIRCULATION. By *Louis Harmand*. Preface by *A. Grenier*. [Bibliothèque Historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1960. Pp. 492. 28 new fr.)

THIS work is an important reinterpretation of the situation in the western provinces of the Roman Empire from 31 B.C. to A.D. 235. Professor Harmand writes in the tradition of Rostovtzeff, emphasizing the social and economic elements of the Roman Occident. After an introductory chapter on geography, the author states the thesis that the Celtic cultural substratum was the true unifying element of the western section of the Roman Empire. Succeeding chapters outline and analyze the conquest and Romanization of Gaul, Britain, Africa, and the Roman failure in Germany. A fine chapter on the revolts of the Neronian era is followed by others on the Romanization of the west during the Flavian and Antonine periods. The work concludes with long chapters on western urbanization, economic exploitation, and trade routes. There is a bibliography and table of contents, but unfortunately no index. Several maps made by the author are helpful and detailed, but they are often unclear, and some index should have been provided for them.

If all the maps were at the back of the book, accompanied by an index, the geographical clarity of the work would be greatly enhanced.

Actually there are many things to praise and few to criticize in this monumental work. The chapter on the revolts that marked the Neronian crisis of A.D. 68-70 is especially brilliant and penetrating. Harmand shows clearly the similarity of problems and of exasperations that led to the great Occidental revolts in Gaul, Britain, Germany, and Africa in A.D. 60-70 and A. D. 192. He demonstrates with convincing detail that these revolts were the product of similar problems encountered by people in the Roman Occident among whom there was a Celtic cultural substratum and a remarkable economic interdependence.

After a masterful exposition of how the walls were constructed in Britain, he shows that the constant shifting of garrisons hurt the defenses of the Roman Empire. Since there was Barbarian pressure from without and recurring revolt in the Celtic west from within, there were not enough troops to guard all the frontiers, and the forces in Britain were consistently diminished from A.D. 160 on, to safeguard the continually strife-ridden Rhine and Danubian limes. The author believes, furthermore, that it was the keenly logical mind of Hadrian which made the fateful error of fixing the Roman frontier once and for all in a defensive position on the Roman and African limes and at Hadrian's Wall in Britain.

The next to last chapter strongly emphasizes the Celtic character of the Roman Occident during the first two Christian centuries. The author strives for objectivity, but some may take issue with the Celtic spirit he ascribes to a number of Occidental customs, beliefs, and art objects. Besides, in his enthusiasm for the Celtic heroes of resistance to Rome he omits mention of Mithridates while claiming that the Occident of Viriathus and Vercingetorix was the land of insurrection and opposition to Rome.

Despite a few misprints and rather light documentation this is a work of major importance especially because of Harmand's usually convincing demonstration of the strong influence of Celtic culture on the Roman Occident during the first two and one-half centuries of the Roman Empire.

University of Kansas

JAMES E. SEAVER

JUIFS ET CHRÉTIENS DANS LE MONDE OCCIDENTAL, 430-1096.

By *Bernhard Blumenkranz*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Sciences économiques et sociales. Études juives, Volume II.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1960. Pp. xx, 440.)

BERNHARD Blumenkranz' monograph in a single volume gives the historian a comprehensive examination of the Jews in Western Europe during the early Middle Ages, something until now unavailable. Using all available primary sources, lay, legal, and ecclesiastical, the author has painted a picture of the Jews in relation to the society of Western Europe during this period. He has divided his volume into four sections. The first deals with the conditions under which the Jews of this period lived. The second concerns efforts to convert them to Christianity

with special attention to seventh-century forced conversion in Visigothic Spain and of efforts made by Jews to proselytize for Judaism. The third section deals with polemical Christian literature attacking the Jews and their answers to it. The last deals with the gradual growth of repressive legal measures aimed at the Jews during this period.

It is hard to stress strongly enough the richness of the documentation and insights found in this volume and the author's wealth of new interpretation. His more important contributions include his evidence that the Jews of this period did not live separately from the rest of the Christian population and shared their dress and language. They were often merchants and dealers in slaves, but also formed an artisan group, and in parts of southern France, in particular, owned alodial land which they farmed. Few during these centuries were yet specializing in money-lending. The author also shows that these centuries in general were ones in which the Jews were less discriminated against than had been the case in the late Roman Empire or was to be the case in later medieval Europe, except for a brief period in Visigothic Spain, a special case which had little impact on the rest of the West. The Arian faith of many Germanic kings, the weakness of political organization, and the Church assured them of general tolerance until the ninth century, when the Carolingian rulers, while not pro-Jewish, refused to follow the lead of Churchmen like Agobard and used repressive measures against them. In this period Moslem Spain also gave them a special place of refuge. Blumenkranz, rightly in my opinion, insists that repressive measures against Jews were the result of the crusading spirit that characterized the eleventh century.

Especially important is his insistence that Judaism was a proselytizing faith competing with Christianity during this period, which, he believes, explains much of the Christian anti-Jewish polemics of Churchmen. He stresses, however, that Jewish successes, despite some high-level conversions, were generally restricted to their pagan slaves, servants, and the humbler members of society. His book contains a full bibliography of primary and secondary works and a fine index. No serious student of the early Middle Ages can afford not to have a copy of this book in his library.

University of Texas

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

A SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF THE JEWS. HIGH MIDDLE AGES, 500-1200. Volume III, HEIRS OF ROME AND PERSIA; Volume IV, MEETING OF EAST AND WEST; Volume V, RELIGIOUS CONTROLS AND DISSENSIONS. INDEX TO VOLUMES I-VIII. By *Salo Wittmayer Baron*. (2d rev. ed.; New York: Columbia University Press. 1957; 1960. Pp. x, 340; 352; 416; xi, 163. \$15 for 3 vols.; \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR Baron's trilogy opens with a description of the decline of the Byzantine and Persian Empires, the two realms embracing the most densely populated Jewish communities of the postexilic period, and the emergence of the Islamic

caliphate as the supreme political power in the Mediterranean world. The triumph of the Prophet's followers proved ultimately to be a blessing for medieval Jewry. Moslem hegemony had certainly imposed more than a few hardships on the subject *dhimmi* peoples, including oppressive taxation, occasional outbursts of antiminority violence, and of social and economic maltreatment. Yet Islam did not officially discriminate between different races or ethnic groups. With its unified institutions and laws, its uninterrupted chain of communications with the entire Islamic commonwealth, the caliphate provided Jews with unprecedented opportunities for cultural and economic intercourse with their brethren from Spain to the gates of India.

Historians have traditionally contrasted Jewish security and prosperity under Moslem rule with the melancholy restrictions and persecutions of Christian Europe. Baron avoids this "lachrymose" approach to Jewish history. In Volume IV of this series, he demonstrates the surprising religious and economic latitude enjoyed by Jews in Merovingian and Carolingian France, in Angevin England, and even in central Italy, the heartland of an aggressive papacy. In spite of occasional excesses and instances of wanton brutality, the circumstances of western European Jewish life were in no sense intolerable in the precrusade era. For that matter, even the horrendous pogroms committed by the crusaders did not prevent the European Jewish communities from growing steadily in numerical, economic, and cultural strength.

The wounds were more painful psychologically. After the atrocities of the Gothic knights and their retinues, the Jews retreated into self-imposed isolation. Economically, the results of that separatism were soon evident. Blocked by the Christian oath of fealty from an agricultural livelihood within the feudal framework, the Jews turned increasingly to trade and finance. Funds were more conveniently liquid and portable here. Sensing the potentialities of a financial and mercantile people within their realms, the rulers of Christian Europe transformed their Jews into personal serfs of the royal chamber and encouraged this dependent minority to specialize in moneylending, even usury, since canon law forbade this for Christians. Afterwards the Jewry of the realm was squeezed like a sponge, its accumulated rents and fees pouring into the royal coffers.

Medieval Jewry demonstrated considerable fortitude in confronting the dangers and challenges of minority status in a Gentile world. In Volume V Baron analyzes the sources of Jewish cohesion. One of them was communal self-government, a privilege granted to all *dhimmi* peoples by the conquering Arab overlords. Ostensibly the Jewish exilarch of the Omayyad caliphate was the supreme arbiter of Jewish affairs throughout the Islamic community. Yet rivalries among Jewish leaders in other Moslem and European lands ultimately produced a series of regional spokesmen. Perhaps it was this absence of an international communal hierarchy that partially accounted for the emergence of a host of rival sects, including the celebrated Karaite "heresy," within Judaism itself. In the long run, concludes Baron, these sects revitalized Jewry at the most critical moment of its dispersion. For by their very challenge to the "accepted order," they obliged Jewish intellectual and spiritual

leaders to redefine the ancestral creed and adapt it to the fluctuating conditions of their times. The manner in which they succeeded is outlined in later volumes.

Upon reading Baron's imposing account of Jewish medieval life, one is struck by the modesty of the title he has chosen for this distinguished magnum opus. It is true that much of his subject matter is devoted to purely social and religious affairs. They are described with Baron's typical insight and thoroughness, and documented with incomparable erudition from sources and texts in most of the major Indo-European languages. These three volumes, however, deal as much with economic and political factors as with the purely social and religious. While the economic sections are masterly, Baron is unfortunately less effective when he turns to political matters. His description of the Jews' legal status in the Islamic Empire, for example, is quite diffuse. One is never certain which Moslem community is enacting which laws against its *dhimmi* subject peoples, nor which Jewish community has succeeded in developing an effective relationship with its Moslem overlords. Clear background description is not provided on the dissolution of the Great Caliphate, nor on the impact of this fragmentation upon the various Jewries of the Mediterranean littoral. Similarly, the author is not notably successful in clarifying the rationale of Moslem religious toleration. Although he suggests that Islam was preoccupied with political loyalty rather than doctrinal conformity, he does not critically analyze the reasons that made this so. Intriguing formulas are introduced, such as the bipolarization of the Jewish world into a Spanish-Babylonian sphere and a European-Palestinian sphere, without further explanation of these phenomena.

Yet even in its political discussions, Baron's history brims over with fascinating fragments of facts and statistics, with illuminating vignettes and insights. His supporting bibliography, vast, annotated and evaluative, is a matchless instrument for students who would explore further even the remotest and most specialized pockets of Jewish civilization. This rich and complex mosaic of factual data is Salo Baron's most enduring contribution to succeeding generations of readers. For them, his writings are certain to be as indispensable as they have been for the two generations past.

Palo Alto, California

HOWARD M. SACHAR

THE IDEA OF REFORM: ITS IMPACT ON CHRISTIAN THOUGHT AND ACTION IN THE AGE OF THE FATHERS. By *Gerhart B. Ladner*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 553. \$10.00.)

WORKS such as this are infrequent. Professor Ladner has given us a study which magisterially explores both title and subtitle. His book falls into three parts. The first examines the varieties of renewal ideology—cosmological, vitalistic, and millenarian views—along with Christian concepts of conversion, baptismal regeneration, and penance, showing how each differs from the idea of reform. The latter is defined as the concept of "free, intentional and ever perfectible, multiple, prolonged and ever repeated efforts by man to reassert and augment values pre-existent in

the spiritual-material compound of the world." The second part investigates minutely the early Christian concept of reform by ascertaining the pre-Christian, Biblical, and patristic terminology of renewal and reform, then by scanning the reform idea in St. Paul, Greek patristic thought and its early Latin counterpart, and, at length, St. Augustine. Ladner concludes this section with a study of the reform idea in the early Christian liturgy, canon law (with its tendency to renew regulations), and sacramental theology. Here the problems of rebaptism, reordination, and penance are fully discussed, though the renewal terminology of the ordination rite of deacons ("qui . . . innovas omnia") and of priests ("amplificatis semper in melius . . . incrementis") as given in *Sacramentarium Veronense* (Rome, 1956) and *Missale Francorum* (Rome, 1957) is not laid under contribution. In the third part Ladner considers monasticism as a vehicle of the Christian idea of reform in the patristic period. Among other points, there is penetrating contemplation of the ascetic ideal practiced by monks and *conversi*, an inquiry into the *vita communis* introduced among clerics in the fourth century, and an evaluation of the Augustinian monastic legacy to the Middle Ages. Of five excursuses, "Points of Contact between St. Augustine and Modern Mathematics and Science" best demonstrates the exactitude with which the author has structured his study.

Massive erudition, painstaking analysis, and exhaustive treatment both in text and footnote assure this volume place as the standard treatise upon its subject. Yet some of these very virtues prove taxing for the reader unable to complete his perusal at a sitting. While the index is excellent, more generous employment of recapitulation throughout the book would have aided in retaining what is significant and in comprehending more readily, for instance, the difference between Greek patristic and Augustinian ideas of renewal and the distinction between *vita canonica* and *vita communis*.

Ladner contends that in his period "everything which pertains to reform is expressed in terms of personal renewal" since Christian antiquity did not "know of a concept of 'Church reform' as such." This latter "does not seem to appear before the age of Gregory VII," which is the eleventh century. The tentative nature of the proposal disarms the critic, still it is probable, I think, that second-century Montanism as described in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, V, 18, and portrayed in Pierre de Labriolle's *La crise montaniste* (Paris, 1913), was a project for Church rather than for individual reform. So, too, Patriarch Photius' encyclical of 867 with its "tēs asebeias tautēs . . . gaggrainan ek mesou tes ekklesias poiēsōmetha" seems to have envisioned something other than personal reform in its proposal to cut down Latin liturgical and disciplinary usages.

Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, New Jersey

HENRY G. J. BECK

Modern Europe

STORIA DELL'ETÀ MODERNA DALL'IMPERO DI CARLO V ALL'ILLUMINISMO. By *Giorgio Spini*. (Rome: Cremonese. 1960. Pp. xvi, 904. L. 12,000.)

IN this large, munificent work on the early modern period, ranging from the "European revolutions" of the Renaissance and Reformation to the eve of the "world revolutions" of the eighteenth century, Professor Giorgio Spini of the University of Florence has broken a new path. He has successfully blended style and scholarship to produce a sustained treatment of a familiar period that is impressive for its richness and originality. In the clear, incisive preface, Spini explains his method, which is a model of intellectual courage and historiographical integrity. Eschewing the autobiographical, he nevertheless reveals acute self-awareness as a fine European intelligence at grips with historical material whose multiplicity and significance cannot be exhausted by traditional interpretations. Marx and Croce, Braudel and Toynbee, he suggests, are no longer enough, or too much. A "new revisionism" is needed, a "new historicism" that seeks "more courageously than the old" to grapple with the elemental facts of human existence as history reveals them to the historian living in our world. With new dedication and humility, the historian must therefore be conscious of "the extraordinary and fantastic complexity of motives which fill history and perchance also of the abysses of death and folly on whose brink it stirs."

Only a long critical essay could do justice to the almost incredible approximation between the programmatic ideal of the preface and the substantive treatment of the vast period that Spini has realized. Strangely, therefore, the six parts of the book seem at first sight quite traditional, based in fact upon an "old-fashioned" chronological division of European politics. The sixteenth century is broken into two parts, with Cateau-Cambrésis separating the era of Charles V from that of Philip II; the seventeenth, into three parts, with Richelieu and the Thirty Years' War at the center of the first, the English Civil War and the scientific revolution in the middle, and the era of Louis XIV in the third; the eighteenth century, from Utrecht to the Seven Years' War, is treated in the final part. But such a summary, though factually correct, is fundamentally misleading. The pattern is, of course, all too familiar. But Spini's scholarly resources, historical imagination, method and emphases, and the tone and style of the treatment are refreshingly new. The essential thread constituted by European politics in its widest sense is given rich, new dimensions at every crucial period through fine analyses of the social and economic elements in which it operated. Spini traces the life of the European mind and of culture from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment not as a disembodied process and "progress of ideas" but rather as a function of a living history which in turn it helped mold and transform. Religious and spiritual crises from the Reformation to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the passions they stirred, the clash of ideas they aroused, the terrifying conflicts they led to are treated as moments integral in Western civilization.

The human element is ever predominant in the narrative. Charles V, Paul IV, Philip II, Elizabeth, Henry IV, Gustavus Adolphus, Wallenstein, Richelieu, Mazarin, Louis XIV, Luther, Calvin, Paolo Sarpi, Pascal, Galileo, Newton, Locke, Voltaire, and many others are etched dramatically, sometimes a bit too emphatically, from among the anonymous masses of Europeans who also made Europe. Through subtle thematic consistency, Spini extracts from "the complexity of motives" the recurring, frightful "abysses of death and folly"—wars, revolutions, civil strife, religious fanaticism, superstition, persecutions, famines, pestilence, nameless cruelties. "In Europa si muore" he says of the decimating physical and moral scourges of the "golden" seventeenth century. But he also insists on the subtler counterpoints of sanity and resistance to oppression, on the conquests of the European mind and the creative fervor of European energies, on the promising advance toward that "Europe without heroes" of the expectant eighteenth century. Thus Europe had come into being. At the dawn of the Enlightenment the European state system appeared destined to be doubly merged with the vaster social structures upon which it rested and with the lands, economies, societies, and cultures beyond the seas which it had conquered. The restrictive "world of Machiavelli" was apparently transformed into the brave "universal world" of Voltaire. "The unity of mankind," Spini concludes, "from a nebulous and remote ideal, was on its way toward becoming a concrete historical reality."

Spini's huge, beautiful volume has enriched European historical scholarship, and he has joined the ranks of the masters in contemporary Italian historiography. Though there is no "perfection" in the writing of history, Spini's book is an acceptable alternative to that unattainable absolute. Scholarship and style, cartography and photography, printer's art, and historical intelligence have been brilliantly fused.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

DER WESTFÄLISCHE FRIEDEN. By *Fritz Dickmann*. (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1959. Pp. ix, 619. DM 57.)

THIS book provides a comprehensive and thorough consideration of the negotiations involved in the framing of the Treaty of Westphalia viewed as establishing a legal order for Europe. "Peace in our time" is no longer a matter of settling disputes within a generally accepted legal order, but a confrontation of antagonists who continually seek to improve their propaganda status with respect to world opinion and who use the threat of the cumulative destructiveness of weapons to intimidate opponents. In a basic sense, the world has actually returned to the situation existing prior to Westphalia which, as the author indicates, involved the conflict of "right order versus chaos" with each peace arrangement a mere cessation of warfare but not of hostilities. Hence Westphalia marked not only the end of a peculiarly disastrous war for the Germanies but inaugurated a process of peace-

making involving the great modern peace congresses and classical diplomacy which now seems to have come to an end.

Since the conferences at Münster and Osnabrück represented the first general peace congress on European soil, negotiations involving the procedures of peace-making took longer than those concerned with the making of peace itself. First, agreement had to be reached with respect to the form of negotiations, the composition of participants, and the time and place of the meetings. More than one-third of the volume is devoted to these preliminary negotiations.

The deliberations of the last three years of the conferences (1645-1648) occupy the major portion of the volume and are discussed topically under the headings of the interests of the great powers, the religious question, and the constitution of the Reich. The general question raised is how a war so devastating and chaotic in character, with so many crosscurrent interests involving great powers, principalities, estates, and diverse religious factions, not only inaugurated a new process of peacemaking but also produced a treaty which became the cornerstone of European order for about two and a half centuries.

Two more specific questions of interpretation appear which are complementary and which particularly concern the German historian. The author argues that the recognition of the coexistence of confessions would have been realized without foreign intervention and the consequent political dissolution of the Germanies. The Treaty of Prague of 1635, the year marking the height of imperial power, already shows that the Hapsburgs recognized at least tentatively the primacy of political interests over confessional convictions as the necessary basis for an effective monarchical organization for the Germanies.

He also contends, however, that though admittedly Westphalia was politically disastrous for the Germanies, as previous German historians have emphasized, after 1945 it must be recognized that it established a new "constitutional order" for Europe as a whole. At Osnabrück and Münster a beginning was made with the recognition of the free play of autonomous forces within a general legal framework. The coexistence of confessions and of states was to become the basis of the European order. Central Europe was integrated within the political framework created by the western seaboard states whose constitutional and legal forms and power relationships now became determinative for the whole of Europe.

Approximately a hundred pages of bibliographical data and of analysis and discussion of sources, especially those involving the last three years of negotiations, buttress this very lucid and solid work. The author emphasizes, however, that it is the change in viewpoint required of the German historian by the new world situation rather than the discovery of new materials that makes imperative a new synthetic treatment of the background of the treaty. No mention is made of the intellectual milieu of emerging science and rationalistic philosophy, but of course, the introduction of this theme might have carried the discussion far afield and loosened the compact unity of the work.

Wayne State University

WILLIAM J. BOSSENBRÖCK

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume X, THE ZENITH OF EUROPEAN POWER, 1830-70. Edited by J. P. T. Bury. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. xxi, 765. \$7.50.)

THIS volume of *The New Cambridge Modern History* seems better planned than nearly any of the others. A brilliant and penetrating survey of the period by the editor, J. P. T. Bury, opens the work. The first twelve chapters are devoted to general topics: economic change, the scientific movement and its influences, religion, education and the press, art, literature, constitutional developments, nationalism, the diplomatic history of the period, navies and armies. Next is a treatment of the history of separate countries. Much more than political history is included, though that is the main interest of the writers. There are discussions on Britain, Russia, the Revolutions of 1848, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Second Empire in France, the Crimean War, German affairs, Austria and its problems after 1848, Italy, the Franco-Prussian War and its results, and two chapters on the United States, one on Latin America, and one on the Far East. An editorial note says that the July Monarchy in France and Austrian affairs to 1848 will be discussed in Volume IX, though that volume is scheduled to end in 1832. Their omission here throws the volume somewhat out of focus. Five Americans, Herbert Heaton, Gordon Craig, Paul Farmer, D. M. Potter, and T. H. Williams, are among the contributors. One Frenchman, Charles Pouthas, is the author of a chapter, that on the Revolutions of 1848. All other authors are British.

Useful as the volume is, and it is one of the best to appear so far in this series, one may still wonder whether the French and German methods of writing a large cooperative history are not better. Here one to three men do each volume, achieving greater unity. Certainly it gives less impression that one is reading a series of encyclopedia articles. In spite of these reservations, this is a very valuable work, and the fullest general account of the four decades between 1830 and 1870 now available.

Oberlin College

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

EUROPEAN SOCIALISM: A HISTORY OF IDEAS AND MOVEMENTS FROM THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION TO HITLER'S SEIZURE OF POWER. Volume I, FROM THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH; Volume II, THE SOCIALIST STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM AND TOTALITARIANISM. By *Carl Landauer*, in collaboration with *Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier* and *Hilde Stein Landauer*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. xviii, 1179; ix, 1183-1894. \$20.00 the set.)

THESE magnificent volumes contain an analytic evaluation by a scholar who has concentrated upon the study of the socialist movement for a lifetime. Professor Landauer published a book on an aspect of his topic as early as 1923, and in the preface he writes of having been active as a young man in the German

Social Democratic party. During the Weimar Republic he was a government employee, and in 1933 he migrated to the United States, where he became professor of economics at the University of California, Berkeley. He has had rich and intense personal experience on two continents and in a large number of sharply contrasting economies. He sustains the textual discussion with 263 pages of notes in fine print and thirty-two pages of titles that he has used. The reader immediately becomes aware that he is being guided by a master who is modestly conscious of the limitations of any single mind to understanding the history of socialism.

"European Socialism" is such an enormous subject that the author selected topics to be covered. He combines the theoretical interest of an economist and the developmental emphasis of a historian to stress those episodes or aspects in the history of socialism that seem important for grasping the character of the subject. He is "interested in the interaction of ideas and movements," and he extensively analyzes and criticizes theories on the one hand and shows how they were practiced on the other. In selecting the smaller countries to be covered he uses two criteria, "the occurrence of peculiar ideological tendencies or peculiar forms of organization within the socialist movement of the country" and "the degree of influence which Socialism in a particular country exerted upon world Socialism." Except in the sections devoted to theory he relates the history of socialism to general political and economic history. His work might almost be described as a political history of those events in the socialist movement that were of most historical significance and a criticism of socialist theories from the standpoint of the contribution of these theories to a solution of the political, social, and ethical problems that socialism did and does face. Landauer does little with the internal organization of parties and trade-unions, the election methods, selection of leaders, and many other related problems that political science and sociology have taught us to study. He ends his account approximately with National Socialist ascendancy.

His range of interests goes far afield. For example, he gives a long account of the Russian revolution of 1917 and the Bolsheviks' seizure of power, the internal struggle of Fascism's rise to power in Italy and its effect upon the socialist movement, the German government's policies and actions, especially the revolution of 1918, and the political history of the cabinets of the Weimar Republic and the intrigues that led to the appointment of Hitler as chancellor. Sometimes one is inclined to think that he includes too much general history, but his judgments are so full of insight, not merely on the history of socialism but on general history as well, that the reader is grateful to Landauer for having placed his subject in a broad setting.

The author devotes over half of the book to the movement in Germany and Russia, an emphasis that, if one accepts his criteria, is justified. His analysis of the movement in other countries—only France, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, and Belgium are included—and of the international organizations is comparatively brief, but in each instance it is admirably balanced and contains much information.

Landauer meets honestly and courageously the ethical problems that a student, and every practitioner, of socialism must resolve. The movement is full of persons

who meant well and caused disaster, who slipped quickly from a belief in generally accepted human values to the position that the end justifies the means. How should one judge these individuals? Landauer's answer is convincing in its humanity. His sincere effort to understand, to be objective and just makes the reading of these volumes a profound experience. The work should be read not merely as history but as an evaluation of socialism in all its forms.

University of California, Los Angeles

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

L'ÉVOLUTION POLITIQUE DE L'ANGLETERRE MODERNE. Volume I, 1485-1660. By *Léon Cahen* and *Maurice Braure*. [L'Évolution de l'Humanité, Bibliothèque de Synthèse Historique, Number 65.] (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1960. Pp. xxxvii, 684. 28.50 new fr.)

IN these last decades French historians in particular have taken upon themselves the task of assembling the monographic works of a multitude of scholars. The present book belongs to this tradition, and it makes an important contribution to our understanding both of the Tudor period and the Puritan Revolution in England. This is not only political history but a synthesis of all the relevant intellectual, social, and economic factors woven into a narrative of events. The authors use the latest scholarship, drawing their secondary authorities principally from the last ten years, with impressive results. The early Stuarts receive their due, and the oft-repeated judgment of Henry IV that James I was the "wisest fool in Christendom" is once and for all rejected. The authors are aware of the prejudicial nature of Henry's personal judgments. One of the merits of the book is that England is constantly set in a European framework and not in an insular one.

Despite these welcome departures, one older tradition still persists. Englishmen are pictured as basically moderate traditionalists, and the failure of English radicalism is linked to this assertion. Enthusiasm and mysticism are held to be peculiarly continental in origins and flavor, foreign to the English cast of mind; one is reminded of Tennyson's phrase that revolution was the "madness of the Celt."

Englishmen, the authors maintain, were a practical people, engrossed in the struggle for existence. This unsubstantiated assertion cannot take the place of historical explanation. All peoples were traditionalists, and all were practical. Continued existence demanded this. Radicals were a minority whether the times were revolutionary or not, and statements about supposed national character do not explain the radical failure in England. It is a pity that the authors are not acquainted with Brian Manning's hypothesis that the breakdown of the old order was caused by the popular movement which pushed the ruling classes reluctantly into revolution. The view of Englishmen, which the authors share with many historians, leads them to slight the radical and popular movements. They view the Elizabethan Anabaptists as a foreign minority and apparently take no stock in Philip Hughes's important discovery that many of the Marian martyrs were native Anabaptists.

Another important criticism concerns their otherwise admirable handling of

the Puritans. The authors overemphasize the Calvinist components of the movement and they do not seem to be familiar with Leonard J. Trinterud's article on the influence of the Rhineland Reformers. They accept, moreover, the equation between puritanism and liberty championed by A. S. P. Woodhouse and others, while ignoring the attack upon this point of view made by Leo Solt in his analysis of the thought of the army chaplains.

That there are so few reservations about a book which spans such a great length of time means that the authors have succeeded in their task. They are indeed a part of the best tradition of modern French historical scholarship in their broad understanding of the whole of an important period of history and in their ability to write about it in a style that most of their colleagues abroad might envy.

University of Wisconsin

GEORGE L. MOSSE

HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH SIR HORACE MANN.

Volumes IV, V, and VI. Edited by *W. S. Lewis et al.* [The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Volumes XX, XXI, and XXII.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 591; 565; 588. \$45.00 for 3 vols.)

THE Yale edition of Horace Walpole's correspondence is one of the meritorious enterprises now in progress in this country in the editing and publication of historical sources. One section alone of this correspondence, that between Walpole and Sir Horace Mann, British minister to Tuscany, will require an estimated nine volumes for the textual presentation of Mann's letters as well as Walpole's with the accompanying elucidative and invaluable editorial footnotes. To judge from the six volumes already published, these notes will appear on almost every page and often fill more than half the page. The first three of these volumes, published in 1954, contain the Walpole-Mann letters written during the War of the Austrian Succession.

The present volumes include letters written during the twenty years between the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) and Walpole's retirement from Parliament, years he referred to, in a later letter to Mann, as the "middle period of our correspondence" and considered the "most agreeable," for it was then, during the Seven Years' War, that he was able to write accounts of British "victory upon victory, and conquest upon conquest" which have supplied historians with effective quotations. Many of his letters have long been accessible in print. The publication in 1833 of his letters, also to Mann, occasioned the essay in which Macaulay delivered his blistering attack on Walpole's mannerisms, eccentricities, trivialities, frivolities, extravagances, absurdities, affectations, pretenses, and shams. The remaining three volumes of the Walpole-Mann correspondence to be published will record, *inter alia*, Walpole's epistolary reactions to what he called "a mouldering empire." But the *alia* will also bulk very large.

It could hardly be otherwise. Walpole was nearly sixty years old when "the shot heard round the world" was fired. His character, tastes, and social outlook

were fixed and could not be changed by a mere American Revolution. Evidence abounds of his absorbing interest in gossip, trivial anecdotes, scandal in high places, the general goings on in Vanity Fair. His mind was distinctly not of the type we call philosophical, but it would be jumping to conclusions to infer that he was just a playboy. He is entitled to be heard in his own defense, as when he writes to Mann in 1749, "you must consider that our follies are not only very extraordinary, but are our business and employment: they enter into our politics, nay, I think they are our politics . . . so, if you will that I write to you, you must be content with a detail of absurdities."

Doubtless Walpole hoped to be thought of as an important figure in the literary world, the author of widely read works of enduring historical value. Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis, the general editor of this Yale edition, believes that he regarded his letters, at any rate those to Mann, as "a journal kept up with a view to its return to him and its incorporation in his *Memoirs*." It is for his letters, however, rather than for his more formal writings that he is principally remembered. Even Macaulay, whose philippic was the result of his reflections on Walpole's books, had a comparatively good word to say about his letters: "His faults are far less offensive to us in his correspondence than in his books. His wild, absurd, and ever-changing opinions about men and things are easily pardoned in familiar letters." According to Austin Dobson, who was steeped in eighteenth-century English literature and wrote a memoir of Horace Walpole, it was as a letter writer that he reached his zenith. He lived at a time when correspondence, like conversation, was studied and practiced as a fine art in English aristocratic circles, and these were the only circles he really knew.

Rochester, New York

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

ECONOMIC THOUGHT AND THE IRISH QUESTION, 1817-1870. By R. D. COLLISON Black. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 298. \$7.00.)

R. D. COLLISON Black presents a pioneer investigation of the content of economic theory concerning Ireland and the influence of that theory on the government's Irish policy in the period 1817-1870 (from the amalgamation of the Irish and British Exchequers to the first attempt of Parliament to interfere with landlord rights in Ireland).

According to Black, most economists agreed that a capital growth exceeding population expansion should be the objective of Irish policy, and they believed this goal could be achieved by substituting capitalistic techniques of British agriculture for the semimanorial system operating in Ireland. In the long run they expected a revitalized Irish agriculture to solve the population problem by providing employment for farm laborers and by stimulating the growth of native industries. But, meanwhile, the government would have to meet the population emergency with a poor

law, aid to emigration, and public works. The government facilitated capitalized agriculture with an encumbered estates act, enacted a poor law, and unsystematically, inadequately, grudgingly, and sporadically sponsored emigration and public works projects. Apparently, then, politicians did respond to the suggestions of the economists, but Black reminds the reader that the theories of the economists harmonized with the interests of the landed gentry who dominated both parties and both houses of Parliament.

Black attributes part of the failure of British policy in Ireland to the reluctance of economists and politicians to recognize the social, economic, and religious differences that separated agrarian Ireland from industrial Britain. Only a few realized that the dogmas of British political economy were not universally valid and suggested that perhaps Ireland would profit more from imitating economic practices in Prussia or India. This minority, in challenging the laissez faire school, divided into two camps. Men like Isaac Butt, Henry Fawcett, Thorold Rogers, and Sir George Campbell, supported by the ideas of J. E. Cairnes and Irish nationalist opinion, advocated secure tenures at impartially evaluated rents for Irish farmers while John Stuart Mill, John Bright, and H. D. Hutton urged the government to help the Irish peasants purchase their own land. Agitation for tenant right and peasant proprietorship increased after the famine, but British politicians, including Gladstone, under pressure from property interests, refused to abandon the maxims of traditional political economy. While conceding British ineptitude in Ireland, the author rejects Irish nationalist assumptions that an Irish parliament limited by the economic clichés of the time, class antagonisms, religious conflicts, and financial resources, could have come much closer to solving basic Irish economic problems.

For a number of reasons Black's penetrating analysis of the economic aspects of the Irish question is a welcome contribution to historical literature. He illuminates a neglected area of Irish history and uses Ireland to illustrate how economic dogmas can frustrate effective political action, to substantiate Keynes's thesis that politicians and civil servants construct legislation and policy around old rather than new economic and political theory, to demonstrate one parliament's difficulty in legislating for two countries with diverse backgrounds, and to suggest to scholars that the Irish experience provides insights into the problems of contemporary underdeveloped countries. Had Black organized his chapters around the basic conflicts within the field of economic theory (such as laissez faire vs. state intervention, free contract vs. tenant right, rather than particular issues such as absentee landlordism, poor relief, and emigration), he could have avoided some repetition and added emphasis to his theses. He writes, however, clearly and precisely; and his book, as the excellent bibliography indicates, is the result of exhaustive research and disciplined reflection on his material.

University of Illinois

LAWRENCE J. McCaffrey

CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA, 1806-1950. Volume I, CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND THE DENOMINATIONAL SYSTEM; Volume II, CATHOLIC EDUCATION UNDER THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS. By *Brother Ronald Fogarty, F.M.S.* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xxi, 255; ix, 257-567. \$17.50 the set.)

THESE two volumes represent a truly vast amount of research. The bibliography and footnotes, combined with useful appendixes and statistical tables, only begin to tell the comprehensive and detailed nature of the work. The first volume gives a careful history of denominational education in nineteenth-century Australia and shows its decline with the consequent rise of the national and secularist systems. By weaving into the story a background of changing social patterns—political, ecclesiastical, economic, and cultural—the result is more than a history of education. The integrated picture of all six colonies is of even greater value. Problems facing the Catholic bishops, particularly in the 1860's and 1870's, were stubborn and defied easy solution. The second volume treats in detail the consequences stemming from decisions taken by these bishops, namely the development of Catholic education under religious orders as an independent and self-supporting system.

Many misconceptions are corrected, such as that Archbishop Vaughan was alone responsible for initiating the Catholic educational system, that Sir Henry Parkes was totally opposed to its birth, or that Syme greatly aided the rise of the national system. The author also demonstrates that the increasing liberalist thought in 1850-1880 hastened the decline of the denominational system and encouraged the emergence of the new national system. These volumes' greatest value, however, derives from the fact that Fogarty is not only a fine historian; he is also a highly respected educator who can assess the merits and defects of primary and secondary education.

At times he glosses over or exaggerates sectarian animosities, but on balance he is objective. For example, the reasons the denominational system lost favor are well explained, especially the Anglican role. He also indicates how strong and vigorous the state systems of education were, but he views the Catholic system as a protest by the Church against socializing and liberalizing forces rising between 1850 and 1950. He states the nineteenth-century Catholic view on education, which remains the same today, that "all forms of instruction, no less than every human action—had a necessary connection with man's supernatural destiny and therefore could not be rightly withdrawn from the Church's jurisdiction."

San Francisco State College

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

HISTOIRE DE FRANCE. Volume I, DES ORIGINES À 1715; Volume II, DE 1715 À 1946. Published under the direction of *Marcel Reinhard*. Volume I with the collaboration of *Norbert Dufourcq*. (Paris: Librairie Larousse. 1954. Pp. 514; 509.)

WHATEVER their penchant for individualism, when it comes to historical writing on the grand scale, Frenchmen manifest an enviable cooperative facility. The new Larousse *Histoire de France* is but one of the more recent examples of their skill in such collective enterprises.

Volume I consists of eleven chapters. In the first four, Marcel Reinhard of the Sorbonne surveys the history of histories of France, an uncommon but most commendable approach; René Musset of Caen considers the relationship of French history and geography; André Leroi-Gourhan of the Sorbonne gives an interesting account of the prehistoric background of France; and Paul-Marie Duval of the École Pratique des Hautes Études deals with Celtic and Roman Gaul. Five chapters on medieval France follow: the Merovingians by Robert Latouche of Grenoble; the Carolingians by Jean Devisse of Dakar; the first Capetians by Jacques Boussard of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal; and the transitional years 1392-1515 by Michel Mollat of the Sorbonne. Chapter x, by Michel François of the École des Chartes, discusses the sixteenth century (1515-1598), while the closing chapter, by Roland Mousnier of the Sorbonne, traces the course of "L'Âge classique (1598-1715)."

The second volume, although equally well prepared and presented, is not nearly so well proportioned. Three of its seven chapters are devoted to 1715-1815: Roland Mousnier discusses the reign of Louis XVI; Marcel Reinhard treats the years 1774-1799 (in the longest chapter of the entire study); Jean Vidalenc of Caen traces the history of the Napoleonic era. Although the general approach to these topics is not "revolutionary," the writers show good judgment in presenting more data on economic, social, and cultural matters than may be found in many special studies of the period. Two chapters by Louis Girard of the Sorbonne present French developments from the fall of the first Napoleonic Empire to the breakdown of the Second. Only two chapters remain for the last ninety years. The first, by Maurice Sorre of the Lycée Montaigne, follows the course of the Third Republic past the turn of the century, while the second, on France in the twentieth century, by Lucien Genet of the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris, begins about 1914, and carries the story through World War II.

The work might be more convenient to use if each chapter were numbered and if the author's name and his professional connection were listed at the beginning of the chapter instead of at the end and on the flyleaf. As might be expected from such a distinguished panel of contributors, the scholarship, interpretations, and writing are of a high quality. Except for the latter part of the second volume, the balance and distribution of materials do not evoke criticism. The work of integrating the labor of so many hands is a credit to Reinhard.

A few words must be said concerning the bibliographical summaries at the end of the chapters. They are uneven, ranging from eight titles to a full column, and though a column is devoted to the first Capetians, only twenty-five titles are cited for the years 1774-1815. They lack commentary and are inconsistent in the amount of data included in citations. There are, moreover, many deplorable omissions. Caron, Mathiez, and Jaurès have no place in the list for the Revolution, nor does

Kirchseisen for the Napoleonic era. Most of the titles are in French, and most of them are the work of Frenchmen. It is startling to see that, apart from the *Cambridge Medieval History*, Sir Maurice Powicke and Sir Winston Churchill for Britain and C. H. Haskins and Robert Sherwood for the United States, the English-speaking world seems to have made few contributions to French history. Europe fares slightly better, but if one were to use these *sommaires* as criteria, one might well conclude that French history had been ignored by foreign scholars or that their labors were not worth recognizing.

However inadequate the bibliographical aids may be, the illustrative material achieves a high standard of excellence. In fact, it could stand alone as an album of French history. Some seventeen hundred items supplement the text in a superb manner.

At first glance these volumes might appear to be directed to the academic audience, but they should hold an equally strong appeal to the general reader. Apart from the minor shortcomings mentioned, they represent an extremely worthy endeavor.

Western Reserve University

JOHN HALL STEWART

LA PENSÉE MILITAIRE FRANÇAISE. By *Eugène Carrias*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1960. Pp. 378. 25 new fr.)

THIS analysis of French military thought from the beginnings of the Capetian monarchy to the downfall of the Fourth Republic is one of the most valuable military studies to appear in recent years. It is both balanced and comprehensive; at least half of its pages are devoted to the period prior to 1789, and lesser writers are treated with as much care and precision, if not in as great detail, as the more famous figures in the annals of the French army. It is, to be sure, a synthesis based upon sources well known to specialists, but while the main lines of many arguments, such as the sterility of French military thought between 1815 and 1870, are familiar, even accepted interpretations are given new freshness.

Eugène Carrias does not write about military theory in a vacuum. He attempts to show the relationships between the military ideas and the prevailing intellectual currents of an era, and he is always aware of the interdependence of strategy and politics. He touches upon many other important aspects of French military affairs: various systems of recruitment, organization of the armed forces, different concepts of military education, structure of the high command. In brief, his volume contains far more than its title suggests and is not merely a useful catalogue of what ten centuries of French military men have thought and written about the art of war.

Carrias reserves his highest praise for those French military figures, Napoleon being the greatest example, who recognized that the imponderables and uncertainties of war make it an art rather than a science and who therefore understood that both strategy and tactics must be adapted to the facts of a given situation. But, as one who is a severe critic of much of the post-Napoleonic military thinking of his

fellow countrymen, he finds an all too frequent tendency for French theorists to create "official" doctrines that are endorsed by the high command and then accepted in a spirit of conformity by the lower echelons. As a military writer who has previously published several important books about the German army, Carrias contends that French military leaders rarely understood the dynamics of the German command structure and failed to realize that the system devised by Moltke provided German commanders with the indispensable initiative and responsibility that were sorely lacking in the French army. Among the most useful portions of the book are those in which Carrias analyzes French interpretations of German military thought and shows, for example, how the French image of Moltke was always a caricature. What French military men retained from their Napoleonic heritage was its strong authoritarianism and control from a centralized source; thus they not only missed the essential spirit of Napoleonic warfare but furthered a debilitating tradition of passive obedience to official doctrines and created a command structure that lacked flexibility and was weak at precisely those points where the German system was strong.

Carrias, in short, is a writer who firmly believes that the "intellectual power of the command" determines the outcome of battle and that the successes or failures of the French army can in large part be told in terms of the intellectual capabilities of its leaders. But it is the shortcomings of this leadership, a general weakness (except during the renaissance after 1871) in French military thought, which forms the main thread of his analysis of the years since Napoleon.

Princeton University

RICHARD D. CHALLENGER

L'ENFANT ET LA VIE FAMILIALE SOUS L'ANCIEN RÉGIME. By *Philippe Ariès*. [Civilisations d'hier et d'aujourd'hui.] (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1960. Pp. iii, 503.)

BEHIND the demographic revolution lies a history of emerging concepts and valuations: "family," "home," "child." Ariès' latest work is a social and intellectual history of these feelings and attitudes in the old regime, beginning with the Middle Ages. Utilizing such varied sources as art, iconography, memoirs, letters, linguistics, and literary works, the book is organized in three sections: "Le sentiment de l'enfance," "La vie scolastique," "La famille."

Although adolescence is generally recognized as a recent concept in Western cultures, what about childhood? Ariès draws from medieval art the conclusion that the child was then seen only as a miniature adult. In view of the ideational quality of medieval art, it would seem that the author is on firmer ground when he deals with Italian Renaissance and Dutch genre painting, where the child is portrayed more realistically. Ariès takes this to mean that people were becoming conscious of childhood. The first texts dealing with "child psychology" appeared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the eighteenth century the child became a central figure in the family. Evidence indicates that the new valuation of children

antedates the demographic changes (decreased mortality and natality) by a century or more.

The middle section, comprising nearly half of the book, is a social history of education in the old regime. The rise of the schools, especially the development of the *internat*, Ariès believes, began the modern prolonged childhood as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When the child became a concern of the moralists, two earlier institutions began to be displaced: the apprenticeship system, for noble children as well as commoners; and the Latin cathedral school, in which all age groups were present. The modern system of age group segregation makes both parents and children more aware of the abstraction "childhood."

In the final section Ariès indicates that until the seventeenth century family life was a reality but not a value nor a sentiment. Beginning at the comfort levels of society, family feeling developed as the shop was removed from the home, as life became polarized between the shop and the home (at the expense of the greater society), as families began to seek privacy. An important factor again, however, is the extension of formal education, as parents became concerned over the moral and social achievements of their young. Ariès also shows that the idea of equal treatment of children grew up in the old regime and that the Revolution merely formalized an existing tendency, contrary to the belief of Le Play, Villèle, and other nineteenth-century conservatives.

Of the more than one hundred art works cited, the author has tastefully selected twenty-six for reproduction *hors texte*. An index and a better system of cross reference (figure numbers, for example) would have been desirable. The writing is, however, superb. There is a feeling of anticipation and suspense as the story moves from chapter to chapter: "La découverte de l'enfance," "Petite contribution à l'histoire des jeux," "De l'impudeur à l'innocence," and a dozen others, equally exciting.

Paris, France

WESLEY D. CAMP

THE DEPUTIES TO THE ESTATES GENERAL IN RENAISSANCE FRANCE. By J. Russell Major. [Studies Presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, Number 21.] (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 201. \$6.50.)

REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS IN RENAISSANCE FRANCE, 1421-1559. By J. Russell Major. [Studies Presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, Number 22.] (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 182. \$4.00.)

THESE two works are but a part of Professor Major's multivolume project concerning representative institutions in France during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries. It is the most important project of its kind in current American scholarship. The first two volumes to be published are, however, quite different in nature. *The Deputies to the Estates General in Renaissance France*

incorporates the results of basic research in French local and national archives and shows in great detail "who the deputies were, how they were elected, how they lived during the meetings, and how they were paid." From the extensive and often tedious treatment of these matters, certain important considerations emerge, such as the multiplicity of local electoral procedures, the rigors of the journey to the assemblies, the irregular payment of the deputies, and the severe conditions of life. The evidence seems to demonstrate the general willingness of the three estates to cooperate and to respect each others' privileges, and, surprisingly, the adequacy of the mandate system. The author generally finds that royal policy respected and protected the privileges of the many social and territorial units within the realm, even though royal officials were frequently in conflict with the local authorities. His extensive documentation seems adequate to support these positions.

Considerably more valuable to the general student of the period is Major's *Representative Institutions in Renaissance France*. The title, unfortunately, is somewhat misleading, since the author's purpose is not to explore the myriad representative institutions at various levels of French society, but "to demonstrate the popular, consultative nature of Renaissance monarchy." The resulting treatment stresses the larger assemblies and the ways in which successive rulers sought to utilize these bodies as instruments of power. Exceptionally extensive treatment is given the Estates-General of 1484 in order to demonstrate the functioning and the difficulties of that famous assembly. It is one of the most valuable portions of the book. The work is similarly significant for its analysis of the factors that explain the failure of national representative institutions to develop in France during this key period. Because of repeated trouble with the Estates-General and the greater value of local consent to taxation, Charles VII gradually abandoned the larger body, and later, none of major importance was assembled between that of 1484 and the outbreak of the Wars of Religion. The resulting reliance of the kings upon provincial assemblies neatly illustrates the author's thesis that Renaissance monarchy was "decentralized," in the sense that the French kings increasingly worked through local institutions and even increased the number of "sovereign" bodies in the provinces. The book therefore gives important evidence concerning the popular basis of royal power in this age of increasingly strong monarchy and the reasons why the French kings felt constrained to consult various elements of the populace through representative institutions. In stressing this aspect of Renaissance monarchy, the book clearly neglects the vast area which Professor Ullmann calls "descending power," an area of equal importance but one that lies outside Major's analysis. In sum, the book is a valuable study of the significance and limitations of the larger representative institutions in France during the Renaissance. Both volumes contain copious documentation and are well indexed.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE: REVOLUTIONARY ORIGINS, 1789-1791. By R. K. Gooch. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1960. Pp. vii, 253. \$4.75.)

In this short volume by a distinguished political scientist, long a student of French parliamentary practices, we have the first specific investigation of the initial attempt to implant that system of government in France. Purposely confining his consideration of the larger aspects of the Revolution to the barest minimum, Gooch directs his attention exclusively to the abortive attempt to embody the parliamentary form of government in the constitution drafted by the National Assembly between 1789 and 1791. Fundamentally this is the larger part of the whole story of that document's creation, because the issue was involved not only in the constitution but throughout the principal debates by which various constitutional features were determined. Mindful of these circumstances, Gooch carries the reader through the great discussions on the floor of the Assembly, until one by one the issues are resolved and the final text perfected: determination of the complete separation of powers, national as against royal sovereignty, legal but not political responsibility of ministers, and limited royal veto.

While the historian cannot help but wish that both the deeper issues and the daily drama of the Revolution might also have been drawn into a more fully developed, three-dimensional account of the constitutional struggle, this would be asking for more than the legitimately technical study the author set out to make. And, it must be stressed, the narrower task he prescribed for himself has resulted in a clear, single-minded, and highly useful description of a central theme of the Revolution from which historians can draw both information and suggestive insights. While it remains evident that many deputies, especially on the Left, never acquired an understanding of the real nature of parliamentary theory, it is nevertheless true that a grasp of its principles was not confined to Mirabeau, although he was the only one who was really clearheaded on the subject. This makes it certain that the measure passed by the Assembly barring its members from the ministry was at least as much a decision of principle as it was a blow directed at the presumed ambitions of Mirabeau. Further than this, we can now see that the proponents of parliamentarianism, or of at least something not antithetical to it, were probably the most thoughtful and levelheaded political thinkers in the Assembly, whatever their private interests may have been.

Gooch's careful concluding estimate of the constitution as technically unworkable adds another piece of important evidence for the developing thesis that the destructive as well as the constructive determinations of the course of the Revolution were largely made in 1789. He finds the fundamental reason for the failure of parliamentarianism (or any other workable representative system) in the French national character. In support of this it might be suggested that in a fundamental sense the model parliamentary regime, that of Britain, has a legislative branch provided with sufficient authority to make a shambles of the executive,

but it has chosen the wiser course of direction and collaboration. French representative bodies, from the first, have chosen the path of conflict and opposition, a struggle fought in various theaters and at several levels of sophistication most of the time ever since.

University of Wisconsin

HENRY BERTRAM HILL

THE SECOND EMPIRE. By G. P. Gooch. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1960. Pp. x, 324. \$7.00.)

THE point and flavor of Professor Gooch's book are characterized by its statement of intent:

This book is neither a history of the Second Empire nor a biography of Louis Napoleon. . . . Its purpose is to transmute mere names into men and women of flesh and blood; to study the Emperor's complex character in sunshine and storm; to assess the influence of his wife and relatives, legitimate and illegitimate; to watch his ministers at work and his critics in attack; to recapture something of the atmosphere of the two colorful decades which separate the drab Bourgeois Monarchy from the equally drab Third Republic.

These goals are approached through a series of biographical vignettes grouped under the headings of "The Family," "The Ministers," "Friends and Foes," and to some extent unified through tone and point of view. The work is informed with the author's sympathy for the motives of his characters and framed within his conception of a classical curve of dictatorship along which the regime passes from its early acceptance as the national salvation to its inevitable corruption and demise. This critical but tolerant Whig interpretation does not pretend to embody a contribution to original research, but does contribute the judicious insights of a seasoned historical intellect. It is on balance, however, a disappointing product from so distinguished a pen.

Attempts at popularization mar Gooch's urbane style with magisterial clichés: "The Queen who was to befriend her in sunshine and storm"; "To this Nordic strain she owed her auburn hair"; "Among women of high estate in the nineteenth century Victoria and Eugenie are the least likely to fall into oblivion"; "The streets of the capital were still running with blood"; "the spirit of the gaming table remained in the Man of Destiny."

In such statements as the following, stylistic defects become substantive: "The son of the regicide Égalité steered a middle course between outmoded dynastic autocracy and nascent democracy in the long afternoon of the Restoration era." Rather arbitrary generalities are presented without consideration of standard contradictory interpretations and are sometimes in detail flatly incorrect.

Thus it is at least arguable whether the formation of the National Workshops in 1848 was folly or whether the "result of the plebiscite [the presidential election] was a surprise to almost everyone except the Prince, Persigny and Fleury. . . ." It is highly debatable whether the riots of 1848 constituted "a social convulsion

inspired by Proudhon's war-cry *La propriété c'est le vol*," that Blanqui inspired the invasion of the National Assembly in May 1848, or that Persigny was a pioneer of Fascism. It is wrong to say that Louis Blanc formed the provisional government in 1848. Blanqui did not play a part in the Commune, nor was he transported by the Versailles government.

Peripheral subjects receive the weakest treatment. The survey of artists and intellectuals in the last few chapters is so sketchy as to be almost worthless, and the presentation of radicals and reformers is really ill informed, but the major comments on Louis Napoleon and his entourage are often just and illuminating.

State University of Iowa

ALAN B. SPITZER

MYTHES ET RÉALITÉS DE L'IMPÉRIALISME COLONIAL FRANÇAIS, 1871-1914. By *Henri Brunschwig*. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1960. Pp. 204.)

Mr. Brunschwig's examination of pre-World War I French imperialism is a documented study, carefully reasoned, based on extensive sources, replete with statistical charts. His myths lie mainly in the alleged overemphasis on economic factors, while the realities stem from considerations relating to national and cultural ideals.

European nationalism in its nineteenth-century setting was, until 1871, a radical movement allied with liberalism. When national revival in France moved in the direction of colonial expansion after 1880, it successfully enlisted the support of erstwhile liberal allies in promoting the spread of civilization. Economic arguments were advanced by Jules Ferry in 1885 to garner additional support for a policy based essentially on noneconomic considerations. Brunschwig demonstrates that French colonies were luxuries, expensive and contributing little to either trade or prosperity. Commerce itself functioned as a civilizing factor. Aside from naval officers and other patriotic promoters of the cause, only individual traders, investors, and colonial bureaucrats profited. Until the 1880's, a single department of government administered marine and colonies. Occasionally it appeared that colonies were desired primarily to justify the maintenance of a French navy.

France became inextricably involved in the colonial rivalry engendered by King Leopold's *Association Internationale Africaine* and by the subsequent Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. Moral justification had difficulty keeping pace with events, but it managed. Colonialism became for many a national ideal, an exciting competition involving "la joie de régner." Promotional organizations such as the *Comité de l'Afrique Française* and the *Union Coloniale Française* solicited financial backing from commercial houses, but the vitality of such groups derived from patriotic and humanitarian considerations. France developed a "good conscience" with respect to imperialism conceived as a positive virtue in support of peace, civilization, and economic progress. Humanitarianism thus took on imperialism as its illicit mistress. Colonialism started to die after World War I, when Wilsonianism,

the League mandate system, and the impact of the Labour party and the Gandhian movement undermined its moral foundations.

Further research must determine the extent to which Brunschwig's thesis is valid for prewar imperialism generally. His conclusions, if sustained, would establish the historical falsity of Lenin's characterization of imperialism primarily as an outgrowth and an essential support of a mature capitalism. Recent developments associated with the liquidation of imperialism apparently indicate that the vitality of Western Europe's economy was never dependent to any significant degree on the exploitation of colonial holdings. It can also be pointed out that Soviet leaders are currently much concerned to devise a new pattern of "civilizing mission" to lend moral support to Communist expansionist efforts. The importance of moral considerations, despite their rationalizing aspects, is not without its hopeful implications.

Ohio University

JOHN F. CADY

HISTOIRE DU CANADA: DES ORIGINES AU RÉGIME ROYAL. By
Gustave Lanctôt. (Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin Limitée. 1959. Pp. 460.
\$4.75.)

GUSTAVE Lanctôt, former Dominion Archivist and author of numerous monographs on the French regime, has provided in this volume a detailed and carefully documented history of Canada from the beginnings of recorded history to the institution of royal government in 1663. In contrast with the older French-Canadian historians who wrote in the romantic tradition, Lanctôt has shunned the literary and heroic approaches in favor of a soberly scientific one. He lets the facts speak for themselves, and the facts need no rhetorical coloring to constitute a most romantic history.

The book opens with brief chapters on the physical environment and on the first inhabitants, the Indians and Eskimos. In a chapter devoted to the first discoveries Lanctôt accepts the theory that Irish monks, driven from Iceland by Norwegian invaders in 874, established colonies on the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence which persisted until the beginning of the eleventh century. A careful analysis of the sagas also leads him to believe that the Vikings then made a second effort at colonization in Newfoundland and Labrador, which was abandoned in 1016 as a result of Eskimo hostility, though voyages to the New World from Greenland, Iceland, and Ireland continued as late as 1347.

Lanctôt then turns to the more familiar and more generally accepted record of discovery, or "rediscovery," by Cabot, Corte Real, Fagundez, Verrazano, Gomez, and Samson. The chapters on Cartier and Roberval reflect the author's special studies and add much to the usual account of these French pioneers. A chapter on the fisheries, the fur trade, and the search for the Northwest Passage supports the author's view that it was primarily economic rather than missionary motives which inspired the early French explorers and colonizers. Lanctôt then carries the

familiar story of the establishment of Acadia and Canada down to the royal decision to take over a colony that had been left previously to trading companies and missionary orders. His account illuminates many episodes. Two final chapters sum up the French effort in the New World to 1663, by which time more than a fifth of North America had been explored, though French population numbered only 2,500.

This is a well-balanced and well-organized book, which in its sober concern with documented facts corrects many legends established by the mythmakers of French-Canadian historiography. Lanctôt is not a revisionist for revisionism's sake, but he gives short shrift to unsupported legends. As he points out in a preliminary note to the bibliography, official documentation for this period is excessively scarce, and that from private sources is limited in scope and not abundant. Though these circumstances make it difficult to trace the economic and social development, he has made the most of the available material and supplied a better-rounded and more soundly based picture of the period than earlier writers. The volume is a useful synthesis of much specialized scholarship which too often lacks the author's broad view and critical spirit.

University of Rochester

MASON WADE

SPANISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION, 1782-1810: THE INTENDANT SYSTEM IN THE VICEROYALTY OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA. By *John Lynch*. [University of London Historical Studies, Volume V.] (Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books; London: University of London, Athlone Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 335. \$6.75.)

INTEREST in the eighteenth-century Spanish world has been renewed in recent years by notable studies of Spain's attempts to renovate the "gothic edifice" of its institutions undermined at home and overseas by intense competition for empire and revolutionary ideologies. This book examines an aspect of Spain's "new policy" after 1765, the practice of the intendant system in the vast viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, where "the possibilities and the limitations of all the elements of reform can be most effectively studied." It thereby helps to fill two of the major lacunae of Latin American historiography: detailed studies of the operation of Spanish colonialism in this period and of causal factors in the process of Latin American independence.

Lynch contends that strategic more than economic considerations made Spanish authorities aware of the importance of the Río de la Plata, and in the first third of his volume he summarizes the pressures for change, the adaptation of the intendancy as one of the key instruments of domestic administrative modernization, and "the interplay between external and internal factors" leading to the creation of the viceroyalty of Río de la Plata in 1776, followed by the introduction of the intendant system there in 1782. In this essentially introductory section excellent coverage of secondary materials is evident while in the subsequent and major part docu-

mentary sources from Spanish and British archives provide the basis of the topical and chronological analysis.

Intendants sent overseas to promote administrative specialization and centralization in the interest of financial and military efficiency inevitably clashed with established authorities and with vested interests not only in these spheres but also in programs of urbanization, in measures for economic development, and in Indian policy. Issue by issue and intendency by intendency Lynch forms a balance sheet of colonial administrative reform. Cooperation between viceroys and intendants depended ultimately upon viceregal willingness to yield jurisdiction. Intendants could neither reform treasury personnel, raise silver production significantly, nor effectively curb contraband. It was not the intendency system but the liberalization of imperial trading policy (*comercio libre*) that produced higher customs receipts. In Potosí, the intendant sided with vested interests to thwart successfully all attempts to eliminate forced labor (*mita*). Contrary to a widely held view, Lynch holds that intendants found the major institution of local government, the *cabildo*, moribund and resuscitated it. Only after 1800 did the *cabildos'* political awareness lead them to oppose the intendants, and as a result, "Buenos Aires was already prepared for its role in the revolution for independence." Above all, jurisdictional bickering in Upper Peru between *audiencia* and intendant weakened the lines of authority there by 1809, precisely when events in Spain demanded unity in the colonial world. Thus, on most counts, the performance of the intendants in the Río de la Plata fell far short of expectation. It shattered the unity of the viceroyalty, enhanced inadvertently the only organ of local government in which creoles predominated, the *cabildo*, and—an unplanned effect of planned reform—opened the way to revolution. This is but a sampling of the conclusions of a study whose organization, documentation, appendixes, and bibliography meet the high standards of English scholarship in Latin American studies.

Lynch recognizes the duality between high purpose and harsh reality in colonialism. Yet there is a tendency, perhaps inherent in the writing of institutional history, to write off bureaucratic bickering as a conflict of personalities and jurisdiction, that is, as essentially administrative infighting, when often the data suggest that colonial officials were human vectors of old and new interests in conflict.

Princeton University

STANLEY J. STEIN

CARL XIV JOHAN: KONUNGATIDEN. By *Torvald T:son Höjer*. (Stockholm:

P. A. Norsted & Söners. 1960. Pp. 684. Cloth 83 kr., paper 65 kr.)

THE career of Bernadotte, which began under the shadow of the Pyrenees in the town of Pau and ended in the royal place at Stockholm, has lured several biographers into three-volume undertakings. Höjer may now be added to this group. In earlier volumes he dealt with the French period and with the marshal's role as Sweden's crown prince. The present concluding volume covers the quarter century of rule as King of Sweden and of Norway, 1818-1844.

This volume concentrates mainly on conduct of foreign affairs, royal interest in public relations and propaganda work abroad, issues faced separately as sovereign of Sweden and of Norway, and the monarch's dynastic and personal affairs. The chapters on foreign affairs show clearly how keenly the King felt these to be his particular province. He had for a modest interval played a stellar role in the coalition which brought down Napoleon, and he apparently never was quite able to relinquish the idea that in some future crisis between the constitutional monarchies of the West and the authoritarian courts of the East he might be called upon to act in some pivotal mediating capacity.

Carl Johan (the designation by which he was freely known) wore two crowns, but these did not equally engage his time. Höjer devotes about a hundred pages to affairs in Norway and roughly twice that number to those dealing specifically with Sweden. It is a reasonable distribution, considering the relative wealth and population of the two countries and the fact that the King was resident most of the time in the eastern kingdom. Perhaps the chapters centering on the personal role of the King interpret Carl Johan at times too closely in terms of the Swedish milieu.

One or two editorial matters need comment. The heavy documentation is very difficult to use. For each chapter the reader must turn to the end of the volume and find the relevant, tightly spaced references, often cryptically abbreviated. Not a footnote appears in the text itself. A thirty-page index covers the three-volume biography as a unit, but the listing refers only to persons. In a study as substantive as this, the usefulness of the index would be enhanced by including subject headings. Typography and binding are of a high order of craftsmanship.

The completion of this biography is an important event in Swedish historical studies. The author, editor of the leading Swedish historical journal, *Historisk Tidskrift*, exhibits breadth and maturity in his work. The range of Swedish and foreign materials consulted is very wide. A supplementary installment on bibliography and documentation for this one volume covers eighty pages. The description of materials in the Bernadotte Family Archives is especially helpful. Sources are consistently used with caution. When it is possible to reach conclusions, these are clearly stated. When evidence is inconclusive, matters are left to possible alternate interpretations. In estimating the King's character and his decisions, Höjer keeps a fairly even balance between conclusions that favor the King and those that reveal his shortcomings—no mean accomplishment when dealing with so mercurial a temperament as that of Carl Johan. This will be the standard biography of the King for our generation at least.

New York University

OSCAR J. FALNES

HUNDERT JAHRE HISTORISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 1859-1959: BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER HISTORIOGRAPHIE IN DEN DEUTSCHSPRACHIGEN LÄNDERN. Edited by *Theodor Schieder*. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1959. Pp. 518. DM 28.)

In commemoration of the centenary of the *Historische Zeitschrift* in 1959, its editor, Theodor Schieder, has turned its 189th volume into a symposium devoted to the history not only of the journal but also of other forms of the organization of historical scholarship in Germany. The broad scope of the volume is well justified. Naturally the *Historische Zeitschrift* was conditioned by German academic institutions. But as the foremost forum of communication and criticism among historians it contributed steadily to the growth of these institutions.

In a thoughtful and well-documented article on "German Historical Science in the Mirror of the *Historische Zeitschrift*," Schieder presents a history of the *Historische Zeitschrift* in which he succeeds at the same time in outlining the role that the journal played in the progress of German historical writing and research. Never the organ of a professional organization, the journal was launched by a prominent historian, Heinrich von Sybel, whose scholarly achievements and academic attainments enabled him to rally a large group of historians to the task. The publisher found the *Historische Zeitschrift* a satisfactory business venture. He paid honoraria not only to the editors and authors of articles but also to the writers of reviews and small notes. In these circumstances the editor could determine rather independently the policies of the magazine. During its first seventy-five years the *Historische Zeitschrift* had only two editors, Sybel until 1895 and Friedrich Meinecke until 1935, when Nazi pressure forced his resignation. Heinrich von Treitschke's editorship during a few months in 1895-1896 may be forgotten as an insignificant interlude. At various times both Sybel and Meinecke had coeditors, but these were either subeditors for certain specialized functions, consultants, or eminent regular contributors. But the character of the magazine was essentially determined by its editors through their choice of collaborators, their selection and solicitation of articles, and their own frequent contributions.

The *Historische Zeitschrift* was founded at a time when the Rankean school had achieved its greatest triumphs. The year 1859 also saw the popular movement for German national unification gather fresh strength. Sybel's announced program, to disseminate the methodic thinking and the results of the new historical scholarship in order to contribute to an enlightened national civilization, had strong political overtones. Yet the *Historische Zeitschrift* did not become a political journal like the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, which was started almost simultaneously with the active cooperation of many historians. It remained loyal to its original intention of linking historical research and writing with the demands of a general civilization. The historical essay written by an accomplished master of a field or subject was the preferred contribution, and as a rule the specialized research study was admitted only if it advanced the understanding of a significant historical problem or of general historical methodology. Polemics were permitted as far as they concerned fundamental issues, but were never allowed to degenerate into lengthy exchanges. It was this judicious editorial policy that made the journal the foremost arbiter of German historical scholarship even at a time when other general and specialized historical periodicals had come into existence.

The coverage of the *Historische Zeitschrift* remained limited to what Ranke

called universal history, that is, ancient, medieval, and modern Western history, and even to the Rankean approach. Political history prevailed, although with the growing emphasis that Meinecke laid on *Geistesgeschichte* and with Otto Hintze's articles of the 1920's, which attempted to utilize Max Weber's sociology for a new social history, broader aims were developed. With great skill and understanding, Schieder sketches German historians' changing intellectual interests as far as they are reflected in the volumes of the *Historische Zeitschrift*. Except for the publication of some letters and an unpublished article by Hermann Oncken that became the occasion of Meinecke's resignation, little is said about the history of the magazine under the Nazis. A special study on this subject is in preparation for the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*. Schieder's verdict that Karl Alexander von Müller, Meinecke's successor as editor, tried to maintain at least some of the magazine's traditions is borne out by facts. In 1949 the first issue of the *Historische Zeitschrift* since the war was published under the editorship of Ludwig Dehio, who not only restored its old standards but also infused fresh critical thought into its pages. Under him and his successor, Schieder, the *Historische Zeitschrift* again has become the leading German historical journal. To what extent it will maintain this position or even gain fresh influence on German intellectual life will largely depend on whether or not the young generation produces historians of great learning, vigorous thought, and literary ability.

I can note only briefly the other articles of the volume. Outstanding among them is Josef Engel's long study on "The German Universities and Historical Science." It explores the function that Church and state assigned to historical teaching in the German universities since the age of Scholasticism. His treatment of the role of history in the Protestant and Catholic universities of the sixteenth to the eighteenth century seems to me particularly original and valuable. The article of Hermann Heimpel, director of the recently founded Max-Planck-Institute of History in Göttingen, on "The Organizational Forms of Historical Research in Germany" reviews the various centers of collective research and pleads for a fuller institutionalization of research in the future. Alphons Lhotsky gives a survey of "Historical Research and Writing in Austria" that is a useful listing of Austrian historians through the centuries, although it is too brief for probing into the underlying movement of ideas. In his article on the "History of the National Historical Organization in Switzerland" Eduard K. Fueter depicts the Swiss situation within the framework of the progress of science.

With its critical assessment of past achievements, the volume augurs well for the future of the *Historische Zeitschrift* in a new century.

Yale University

HAJO HOLBORN

DIE GESCHICHTE ÖSTERREICHS. Volume I, BIS 1648. By *Hugo Hantsch*. (4th ed.; Graz: Verlag Styria. 1959. Pp. 429. Sch. 145.)

THE first edition of this well-known history was published in 1937 at a time when

the new rulers of Austria frowned upon any emphasis on the mighty past of that historic Danubian country. Its author was removed from his professorship in the University of Vienna and placed in a concentration camp. He did not resume his duties at the university until the fall of Hitler. The second edition appeared in 1947; the third in 1951. Each edition was soon sold and out of print. Now thoroughly reworked and somewhat expanded, the fourth edition lies before us.

This first of two volumes presents the broad outlines of the rise and development of the formidable Danubian power which has played a key role in European history. The author's purpose is to bring home to his readers, and particularly to Austrians, the historical foundations of their existence as a people. Professor Hantsch has achieved his aim.

The volume is well written. Aside from the carefully constructed indexes of names and important subjects, a pleasing feature of the book is the emphasizing of significant names, places, and key concepts by a skip-spaced type that now seems to be standard practice in Europe. The author is a master of the transitional paragraph and the dramatic nuance. One of his stylistic devices is the asking of questions instead of answering them. Nothing more effectively emphasizes the still unexploited or wider implications of a historical situation or more tellingly suggests the lines of interesting future investigation. Hantsch has summarized the results of vast numbers of specialized studies, especially those which have appeared in the past three decades. For a book extending from the prehistoric Celts to the middle of the seventeenth century this coverage is no small achievement. But the author does not stop there. To buttress a point of view or interpretation on a debated question, he frequently adds the evidence of hitherto unexploited sources.

There are thirty-seven pages of notes that guide the student both to the more extensive discussions of particular phases of Austrian history and to the more detailed studies and quotations from new materials. These notes are also valuable because they summarize the chief points at issue and the solutions to questions not yet accepted by scholars.

The book's chief distinction lies in its broad coverage of a complex subject and in its masterly summary of the results of almost uncountable monographs and special studies. In a volume of such tremendous scope it is inevitable that some slips should occur. I missed any reference to the new edition of B. Gebhardt's *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, Volume I, 1954, which would perhaps have prevented the author's somewhat old-fashioned handling of the Hildebrandine Reform. He has made little use of the vast literature that has appeared since 1936. Engelbert of Admont (not his predecessor, Abbot Henry II) was the author of the panegyric in honor of Rudolf of Hapsburg's victory at the Battle of the Marchfeld, August 26, 1278. The Latin incipit is *Slavica qui tumidi confregit cornua sceptri . . .*. To my knowledge no copy of this poem has been found. Hantsch seems unaware of the lively controversy that has been raging since 1940 over the very nature of the "Renaissance."

The foregoing are small flaws in a book that contains so much data on such a

variety of questions: political, economic, social, artistic, religious, and intellectual. It is difficult to imagine a better balanced, more informative presentation of a great topic. In achieving his purpose, Hantsch has written the outstanding treatise on the development of his country to appear in the topsy-turvy mid-twentieth century. Since there are no comparable treatments of Austrian history down to 1648 in any modern language, a translation is strongly recommended. But translation or no, the book should be in every college and university library.

University of Pittsburgh

GEORGE BINGHAM FOWLER

I VESCOVI ITALIANI AL CONCILIO DI TRENTO (1545-1547). By *Giuseppe Alberigo*. [Biblioteca Storica Sansoni, New Series, Volume XXXV.] (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, Editore. [1959.] Pp. xvii, 500.)

THIS work was begun at Bonn in 1955 under the guidance of Hubert Jedin and was completed with encouragement and help from Giuseppe Dossetti at the Centro di Documentazione in Bologna. The aim was to investigate the relations between the religious and ecclesiastical situation in Italy and the Council of Trent during its first eight sessions, which, with the brief Bologna period, constitute a distinct phase of the assembly with profound differences marking it off especially from the third convocation under Pius IV after its long suspension. To this end the bishops from the ranks of the secular clergy were chosen for study as more representative of normal local conditions. Appearing after Jedin's *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, Volume II, *Die erste Trienter Tagungsperiode 1545/47* (on the English edition of Volume I, see *AHR*, LXIII [July 1958], 949), the results can be judged as a work of independent value with originality in both content and method. In my opinion it is in every way worthy of its lineage and, as a first major work, a remarkably mature achievement.

An introductory chapter provides a good historiographical essay on the council's membership (an extensive literature exists) and a review of the problems and doubts in the peninsula respecting its convocation. Some sixty-odd prelates are then considered under five regional groupings: the Venetians, by tradition from the patrician families; the remaining northern ordinaries; the Tuscans, the least active participants; the bishops from the States of the Church, including the curialists who constituted the most compact group; finally those of the three Spanish dominions of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, the most numerous (fifteen) with the Venetians. Family background and formation and the ecclesiastical career and record of pastoral concern of each are treated in detail. These were all men of the generation formed between 1510 and 1540 in full *Rinascimento*. Some few were outstanding, more of them mediocre, but even lesser men in high places at critical moments have their historical significance. The attention given to regional problems and other particularisms makes this analytical section of wider value and interest than a useful biographical dictionary. More than one area is disclosed that promises fruitful research. With the personnel thus in setting, the author treats the role of these bishops in council

on certain major issues: vernacular translations of the Bible, exemption of the regular clergy from episcopal jurisdiction, the doctrine of justification, and the problems concerning residence of bishops in their sees. Since Italians always constituted a majority of its members, this synthetic part is of primary interest for the council's internal history. The least homogeneous of the national groups, few of these men were convinced of the necessity or efficacy of the council: conservatives feared possible excesses, those in favor of far-reaching reforms lacked confidence in it. Their varying and even conflicting attitudes and lack of solidarity, often reflecting their respective backgrounds, explain in part the limited accomplishments of this first convocation.

The work is carefully and amply documented and elegantly written. It is a solid contribution to Tridentine history and to the history of the early cinquecento and the origins of Catholic reform. As the author is at pains to point out, these fields of study remain inadequately explored. A perceptive and laudatory preface was written by Delio Cantimori.

St. John's Seminary, Boston

J. JOSEPH RYAN

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA LA FRANCIA, IL GRANDUCATO DI TOSCANA E IL DUCATO DI LUCCA. Second Series: 1830-1848. Volume I, 18 AGOSTO 1830-28 DICEMBRE 1843; Volume II, 9 GENNAIO 1844-29 FEBBRAIO 1848. Edited by *Armando Saitta*. [Fonti per la storia d'Italia, Volumes XL and XLI. Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le grandi potenze europee e gli stati italiani, 1814-1860. Part 2, Documenti esteri.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1960. Pp. xiii, 320; 315. L. 3,000; L. 3,000.)

PROFESSOR Armando Saitta has performed an extraordinary feat of historical scholarship by editing and publishing five large volumes of documents within the space of two years. And the speed of his accomplishment is only excelled by the superb quality of his work. The Third Series of this collection was issued in 1959 and has already been reviewed (*AHR*, LXV [Jan., July 1960], 425, 973-74). Now in 1960 appear the two volumes of the Second Series, which covers French diplomatic correspondence with Tuscany and Lucca during the Orleans monarchy (1830-1848). There are 281 diplomatic notes chosen mostly from the French Foreign Ministry archives' three series: *Correspondance politique*, *Correspondance consulaire*, and *Mémoires et documents*. And again we naturally learn more about Tuscany than we do about France because only fifty-three (19 per cent) of the notes are instructions from Paris; the rest are reports from Florence or Leghorn. Volume I covers the first fourteen years, Volume II, the last four.

As far as Franco-Tuscan relations are concerned, it is not an important or exciting period. Reports on the Tuscan or Italian situation and on Tuscan opinion of Italian, French, or European affairs take up much of the space in the volumes. Sometimes there are subjects of momentary interest which emerge from the documents, such

as Tuscan recognition of the French Orleans monarchy, Italian unrest in 1830 and 1831, recognition of Queen Isabella in Spain, and the growing Italian unrest in 1847 and 1848. Then, too, there is considerable correspondence brought to light on important men: dispatches to and from Guizot, Thiers, Sébastiani, Molé, Broglie, (Baron) Talleyrand, and La Rochefoucauld.

One incident relieved the general dullness of the two volumes, the unprecedented scolding administered by Broglie to his minister at Florence, the younger Talleyrand. In my reading of official dispatches I have never encountered such harsh treatment from the hands of a foreign minister. First Broglie rebuked Talleyrand for his strong protests to Tuscany over the arrest of three Frenchmen. Then two months later, when Talleyrand complied with the spirit of the above criticism (perhaps spitefully) by letting another Frenchman languish in jail without protest, Broglie unleashed another flood of bitter denunciation: "tout . . . vous faisait un devoir d'intervenir et il me serait impossible de ne pas désapprouver l'inaction. . . . Après les observations qui précèdent, je dois espérer . . . que les intentions du gouvernement . . . seront désormais bien comprises. . . . C'est un sujet sur lequel je désire n'avoir plus à revenir." And he did not have to refer to it again because the next note was to Talleyrand's successor. We regret that the correspondence of the intervening month and a half was omitted by the editor, leaving us ignorant of Talleyrand's self-defense and wondering whether he left by resignation or dismissal.

Considering that Guizot was to fall before a revolution in 1848, it is interesting to read his advice to the Tuscan grand duke in 1847 when the latter was threatened with widespread unrest: "Cela . . . commande au Gouvernement . . . beaucoup de prudence unie à beaucoup de fermeté. . . . Les tendances trop comprimées en réagirait avec plus de force et pour éviter un médiocre embarras on pourrait s'exposer à tomber dans des complications beaucoup plus sérieuses." It was unfortunate that he did not follow his own advice.

These volumes, like the others before them, contain excellent lists of documents and summaries, careful footnotes of explanations and references, and detailed indexes. The two series together form a masterpiece of historical editing by a master craftsman.

University of Pennsylvania

LYNN M. CASE

STORIA DELLE DOTTRINE FINANZIARIE IN ITALIA. By *Giuseppe Ricca*. Salerno. Edited by *Sergio Guccione*. [Storia della finanza pubblica, Number 4.] (3d ed.; Padua: Casa Editrice Dott. Antonio Milani. 1960. Pp. xxii, 446. L. 4,500.)

L'AMMINISTRAZIONE FINANZIARIA NEL REGNO DELLE DUE SICILIE NELL'ULTIMA EPOCA BORBONICA. By *Lodovico Bianchini*. Edited by *Giovanni Raffiotta*. [Storia della finanza pubblica, Number 6.] (2d ed.; Padua: Casa Editrice Dott. Antonio Milani. 1960. Pp. xxv, 424. L. 5,000.)

STORIA DELLA FINANZA ITALIANA NEI PRIMI QUARANT' ANNI DELL'UNIFICAZIONE. In three volumes. By *Achille Plebano*. Edited by *Salvatore Buscema*. [Storia della finanza pubblica, Numbers 7, 8, 9.] (2d ed.; Padua: Casa Editrice Dott. Antonio Milani. 1960. Pp. xvi, 348; viii, 342; viii, 400. L. 12,000 the set.)

THREE more publications have been added to the interesting collection of works on the history of fiscal disciplines in Italy, thanks to the initiative of Professor Emanuele Morselli and the University of Palermo. These publications are reprints of valuable works that appeared some time ago and were unavailable to the public.

Storia delle dottrine finanziarie in Italia by Ricca Salerno (1849-1912), a Sicilian, was originally published in 1896. The author, a disciple of Cossa in Italy and of Wagner in Germany and an admirer of Locke and Adam Smith, was the first to occupy the chair of fiscal science at the University of Pavia; he was known as a foremost economist in a country where political economy had a long and distinguished tradition. Ricca Salerno had made his reputation through a sound treatise on public finance and another on wages. He was one of the leading Italian spokesmen for the scientific method and a critic of traditional deductive and syllogistic logic. His work is considerably more than a history of doctrines concerning public finance in Italy. He covers the six centuries from the age of communes to the unification of Italy, discussing the ideas of well over one hundred authors from Thomas Aquinas and Egidio Romano to Pellegrino Rossi and Andrea Meneghini, following a description of the financial institutions of the period in which they lived. The work is divided into four parts: the first deals mainly with the republics of the thirteenth to the fifteenth century and the kingdom of Naples, the second with early modern times, the third with the era of reforms and of French ascendancy in Italy, the fourth with the post-Napoleonic decades. Particularly in the second and third parts, attention is devoted to foreign influences: Bodin, Petty, Locke, Adam Smith, Justi, the physiocrats. Knowledge of economic and financial institutions of past centuries in Italy has increased since the time of Ricca Salerno, but his masterly analysis of the position of many authors has hardly been improved upon.

The Neapolitan Lodovico Bianchini (1803-1871) was more an administrator than an academic economist. During his lifetime he was well known in southern Italy as a foremost exponent of British and French liberal ideas in economics and finance. He wrote a seven-volume history of public finance in the kingdom of Naples from the time of the Norman Roger II, and a less complete two-volume economic history of the kingdom of Sicily. The book just published, *L'Amministrazione finanziaria nel Regno delle Due Sicilie nell'ultima epoca borbonica*, includes only the last volume of the first work covering the period of French domination (1806-1815) and the Bourbon Restoration (1815-1835), and the second volume of the other work covering the period of Bourbon rule (1735-1841). The history of southern Italy at the times of the Norman and Swabian kings is a fascinating one, and it is to be hoped that funds will be available for reprinting, even if in a

condensed form, the whole of Bianchini's two works, based as they are on painstaking research and rich documentation.

The history of public finance in Italy, 1860-1900, *Storia della finanza italiana nei primi quarant'anni dell'Unificazione*, by Achille Plebano (1834-1905) is a remarkable work. The author, a Piedmontese, had for many years been a high official in the Italian treasury, a colleague and usually an opponent of Giovanni Giolitti. Like Giolitti, Plebano left the administration for active politics and for many years sat in the Italian parliament, where he was an advocate of rigid orthodox economic and financial policies. Between 1863 and 1898 he wrote copiously on taxation, tariffs, and banking. The three volumes of the history now being reprinted were originally published in 1899, 1900, and 1902. The work is not an expert's dry chronicle of budgets, surpluses, deficits, parliamentary debates, and tax legislation. It provides the reader with a lively account of public life in Italy, contrasts between Right and Left, divisions within the Left, tension at the end of the century caused by the growth of revolutionary socialism on one side and by the shift of the Right toward extreme positions on the other. The author also deals with the problems raised by the rapid construction of a railroad system, the slow development of banking and credit, and the colonial policies of the 1880's and 1890's. From Cavour to Crispi all the major political figures are appraised. Taken page by page, Plebano's voluminous work is correct, but the over-all picture is somewhat distorted. The author criticizes and complains, giving the impression that everything was going from bad to worse, while during those forty years Italy was witnessing a most remarkable economic expansion and considerable financial stability, owing in part to the hard work of efficient bureaucrats and responsible legislators like Plebano himself.

Smith College

MASSIMO SALVADORI

HISTORY OF HUNGARY. By *Denis Sinor*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1959. Pp. 310. \$5.00.)

HUNGARY is, strangely, one of the best-known of small European countries. Denis Sinor's book presents the history of Hungary from the ninth century to the end of World War II. His style is facile and readable.

The Hungarian national dynasty of the Arpads transformed the migratory Magyar tribes of Asiatic origin into a solidly unified Christian nation in the European heartland. Capricious fluctuations of national destiny followed under native and foreign-born rulers with their ephemeral dynasties. The first national disaster occurred in 1526 during the Battle of Mohács against the Turks, who occupied and devastated Hungary for almost two centuries. Hungary was "liberated" by the Hapsburgs who treated her as a conquered colony, and the country rebelled several times against the Austrians. A "compromise" with Austria in 1867, which lasted until the end of World War I, followed the defeat of the 1848-1849 national

revolution. The 1919-1920 peace treaties mutilated Hungary's territory, but gave her total political independence in a fatally dislocated European system.

The author's viewpoints approximate the unjustified views of the nationalistic, even chauvinistic, Hungarian historical literature of the Horthy era. Thus, Sinor sees Hungary's eleventh-century annexation of Croatia as an act whose consequences were felt even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nonnationalistic Hungarian historians clearly established long ago that one of the causes of the defeat of the 1848-1849 revolution was that its leader, the great national liberal Lajos Kossuth, was unable to understand the viewpoints and aspirations for independence of national minorities. Sinor even adopts the peculiar racist theory of certain Hungarian historians who rendered Jews responsible for every Hungarian misfortune. Jews in Hungary actually played quite a different role. Hungary reached the stage of modern capitalism in the middle of the nineteenth century with an archaic social structure. Her aristocracy disdained the role of middle classes while it did not allow the serf-like Hungarian peasantry to become bourgeois. In such conditions, the Jewish population was officially encouraged to become a national middle class. Hungarian Jewry succeeded in this role. Sinor's opinion in this matter is quite different: "Many of these immigrants had no time to be assimilated, and thus an important and influential foreign colony was created, not hostile, and in many respects of value to Hungary, but lacking comprehension of Hungarian life and ways."

The author's lack of objectivity appears in the characterization of the end of the Horthy regime in 1944: "if his [Horthy's] reign ended in disaster, it was not his fault." Today it is possible to see Horthy's role in a different light. I regard this former Austro-Hungarian naval officer as the inventor of the *Führer* "principle" and the initiator of racist prejudices in a national legislation. Horthy was not yet a Fascist or a Nazi, but a narrow-minded reactionary. He blindly and unconsciously transformed his unfortunate country into an impotent minor instrument of Nazi-Fascist world aggression.

Sinor's book emphasizes the need for another work on Hungarian history which, especially after the 1956 Hungarian revolution, would definitely integrate that history into the Western democratic evolution.

Washington, D. C.

EUGENE GONDA

RUSSIAN AND SOVIET POLICY IN MANCHURIA AND OUTER MONGOLIA, 1911-1931. By *Peter S. H. Tang*. Introduction by *Philip E. Mosely*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1959. Pp. xx, 494. \$10.00.)

Dr. Tang, author of the useful *Communist China Today*, now offers a work whose purpose "is to bring under close scrutiny that part of Russian diplomacy, pre-Revolutionary and Soviet, involved in the dealings with Manchuria and Outer Mongolia during the two decades between the Chinese Revolution of 1911 and the Japanese attack on Manchuria in 1931." Although there have been several recent studies in English dealing in part with the subject, Tang's book is distinctive in its

effort to relate Manchuria to Mongolia as targets of Russian and Soviet expansion, and in his command of both Chinese and Russian sources (although he makes a few slips in Russian, and evidently does not know Mongolian).

The author asserts identity between czarist and Soviet policy. Since his and some earlier studies assume this, it may be urged that someone undertake the kind of careful comparison of the imperialism of czarist Russia with that of the Western countries and Japan, and between that of the Soviets and that of the Nazis and the Chinese Communists, which would enable scholars to speak cogently on the subject. In Mongolia, for example, Nicholas II's regime refused to annex the country or even to permit it to declare independence of China, while the Soviets introduced a system of total control, but Tang does not make the difference clear. If Communism is merely "the current instrument of Russian policy," who exactly can be said to rule Manchuria today?

The book is divided into two parts. The first and longer one is "The Chinese Eastern Railway: Instrumentality of Russian and Soviet Policy in Manchuria." The author at one point characterizes the policy as one of "conventional railway diplomacy," and this is the way he handles the narrative. Later, however, he holds that the sale of the railway to Japan in 1935 raises grave doubt as to whether the Soviets were ever really interested in the railway, and he states flatly that to both czarists and Soviets the railway was "merely a weapon for encroaching upon Manchuria"—a conclusion that seems more plausible for the Soviets than the czarists, but does not follow very clearly from his actual treatment. The second part is called "Outer Mongolia: Center of Russian and Soviet Strategy in the Far East," although the author contends only that it became the "center" after 1905, and indeed a little earlier argued that the "Far Eastern policy of both Tsarist and Soviet Russia centered on Manchuria." A chapter on Tannu Tuva is included in this part. An appendix deals with "Construction and Economic Operations of the Chinese Eastern Railway." The author adds a bibliography, index, and two maps.

The topic is conceived as diplomatic and military history in a rather narrow sense. Little is said about the effects of Russian or Soviet policy on the peoples of Manchuria and Mongolia, and nothing about the movement of Russian migration which did so much to bring the Chinese Empire to St. Petersburg's attention. Real or ostensible ideological factors bearing on either czarist or Soviet expansion receive only passing mention, and the role of the Mongol Communists is not sketched clearly. Tang gives us mainly a narrative of negotiations, agreements, and diplomatic and military conflicts over their meaning.

He has, nevertheless, produced a generally well-written narrative which reflects careful and exhaustive research. Other writers will profit greatly from his work as they probe further into the problem of the effects of Russian and Soviet policy in the areas concerned, and as they attempt to put into a broader setting the old and vexed problem of what difference the October Revolution made to the countries adjoining Russia.

University of Washington

DONALD W. TREADGOLD

SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY, 1924-1926. Volume II. By *Edward Hallett Carr*. [A History of Soviet Russia.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1960. Pp. viii, 493. \$7.50.)

THIS volume in Mr. Carr's massive history is concerned centrally with the struggle in the Communist party during the years 1924-1926, which witnessed the victory of the anti-Trotsky campaign, the breakup of the triumvirate, and Stalin's ascendancy over Zinoviev and Kamenev. One could wish that Carr had placed the present volume first in the trilogy dealing with this period. Despite the critical importance of agricultural and industrial issues under NEP, the principal theme of the preceding volume, one feels, on the basis of the author's rich and skillfully organized evidence, that the political issues afford the most intelligible guide to this confused and tentative phase of Soviet history: politics both as a personal competition for power and as the problem of relating Communist theory to the extremely refractory Russian reality.

The narrative and analysis of the struggle are masterful; the author's intellectual perception and style of research are at their best in a subject of this sort. As always, when a historical scene is closely scrutinized by an able scholar, the complexities of life break through the usual simplifications and stereotypes, and the reader has the chance to grasp the problematic quality of political encounter and decision, even in a system so dedicated to a defined line of action. This comes out most admirably in the chapter on "Socialism in One Country," in the curious and accidental way this slogan arose and came to change its meaning in becoming the banner for a new era.

The volume also reviews the development of the Soviet institutional order in the mid-1920's: the relation of the Union to the republics under the new constitution, the unsuccessful and self-contradictory efforts to "revitalize" the Soviets, the peacetime establishment of the Red Army and the continuing conflict over political commissars, and, finally, the institutionalization of the essentially extra-legal security forces.

In his earlier volumes Carr has at times been criticized for excessive reliance on Soviet sources and the consequent danger of being caught in Soviet categories and perspectives. This criticism has weight when the historian's task is reconstructing and interpreting such an event as the Russian Revolution, with its complex interplay of motivations, political groups, and interests. In the present volume, however, where the central question is the way in which the Communist leadership envisaged and sought to master the problems, many of their own making, which confronted them, the author's method is fruitful and illuminating. In these years, moreover, there was still much intraparty debate which found its way into the record.

This relative freedom was not to last. In his conclusion Carr writes: "Security no longer meant the defence of the Soviets against the champions of the *ancien régime*; it no longer meant, within the Soviets, the defence of Bolshevik revolution against the challenge of dissident parties of the Left; it meant, within the Bolshevik party, the defence of a specific ruling group or order. And this in turn involved

a conspicuous change in the character and functions of the security organs. The repressive powers of the OGPU were henceforth directed primarily against opposition in the party, which was the only effective form of opposition in the state."

Columbia University

HENRY L. ROBERTS

Far East

EAST ASIA: THE GREAT TRADITION. By *Edwin O. Reischauer* and *John K. Fairbank*. [A History of East Asian Civilization, Volume I.] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1960. Pp. xiii, 739. \$8.75.)

HERE is the first volume of a work to which many have been eagerly looking forward, and they will not be disappointed. The authors, leaders in East Asian studies and held in high respect by their colleagues the country over, have for years been engaged in its preparation. The book grows out of their teaching and in earlier form has been used in their classes and circulated among fellow experts for suggestions. It is based upon ripe scholarship and has made use of both the older and the more recent research.

As can be gathered from the title, the authors have dealt with the civilization that arose in China and have covered its developments in China, Korea, and Japan down to the irruption of the Occident in the nineteenth century. They regard that civilization as a unit and confine themselves almost entirely to peoples embraced in it. That means that they make only incidental mention of other nations in East Asia. They say very little of Tibet and Indochina, almost nothing of the Philippines, Malaya, Indonesia, Thailand, and Burma, and deal with India and the various non-Chinese peoples in Inner Asia only insofar as they enter into the story that is their major concern.

In these three countries the authors survey all aspects of the civilization that is their primary interest. They deal with them in the framework of political history, and it is to that chronological structure that they devote their major attention. In fitting various features of culture into that pattern they do not always strictly conform to it, with the result that the unwary reader for whom the volume constitutes the initial introduction to the field may be somewhat confused. It must be said, moreover, that the book is best adapted to the interests of those who already have at least a cursory familiarity with the subject. To those for whom this is the introduction to East Asia the names of unfamiliar places, individuals, and movements and in strange languages will be bewildering. Fortunately the pages abound in sketch maps for particular areas and periods which will help the neophyte through the confusion and in excellent illustrations of art objects and buildings which will be welcomed by both the beginners and the advanced. The more advanced student would, however, have welcomed the Chinese characters for the proper names, either in the footnotes or in an appendix. For an introductory

course the bibliography is excellent, but for more advanced courses it is much too meager. In other words, the book, good as it unquestionably is, falls between two stools. As an introductory text it contains too many details, names, and technical terms, and for those who come to it after some acquaintance with the field it does not give all that they properly require.

It will challenge the more thoughtful and able in an introductory course to go beyond their initial frustration, however, and will give glimpses of the riches of the civilization to which they are being initiated. The more advanced will also welcome this superbly competent and detailed summary with its well-proportioned perspectives and its mature insights. Specialists will appreciate, too, the availability of a reliable compendium of the latest scholarship and will enjoy suggestive interpretations which the authors have rightly given to the story, both in its various aspects and in its entirety. All will find the frequent comparisons with events and movements in the Occident stimulating.

Yale University

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

THE MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT: INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION IN MODERN CHINA. By *Chow Tse-tung*. [Harvard East Asian Studies, Number 6.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 486. \$10.00.)

THE May Fourth movement is sometimes called the Chinese Renaissance. Like its Western counterpart, the Chinese movement is a complex, many-sided affair whose "meaning" has become a subject of controversy. In the present book, the first comprehensive study of the movement in English, the author has done full justice to the complexity and magnitude of his subject.

On May 4, 1919, students in Peking demonstrated against the Chinese government's degrading policy toward Japan. The demonstration led to strikes by students, merchants, and laborers and to the refusal of the Chinese delegates to sign the Treaty of Versailles. But the student protest, though marking the pivot of the movement, was not the whole story. The May Fourth movement in the broad sense was a combined intellectual and sociopolitical movement covering the years 1917-1921. Its purpose was to achieve national independence, overthrow the stagnant tradition, and modernize China. The literary reform was thus but one aspect of the general advance. The significance of the May Fourth movement lies in its contribution to the surge of nationalism and the birth of Chinese Communism.

While the above points are put forth in rich detail and energetic logic, the author also examines critically the causes of the events. Imperialism, rather than Bolshevik instigation, was the cause of the patriotic outbursts. The split of the new intelligentsia, with Ch'en Tu-hsiu turning Communist and Hu Shih remaining an independent thinker, was due to Ch'en's view that China could not be reformed without political action and to Hu's belief that piecemeal solutions to practical problems were better than ideological formulas. With a discerning eye for intel-

lectual currents, the author traces the impact of Western thought and finds that John Dewey and Bertrand Russell had considerable influence on Chinese liberalism.

Chow takes great pains to give an objective account of his findings. He qualifies his statements most carefully and goes into minute details when he discusses differing views. As a result, the lines of the analysis are sometimes lost in the labyrinth of disquisition. Furthermore, the broad conception of the movement, insofar as it extends the study to include various intellectual, political, and social developments during the period, does not make for unity. But the book is solidly founded on meticulous scholarship. Its greatest value lies in the wealth of material it has amassed from the voluminous Chinese journals. As a balanced, soundly informative account, Chow's book will remain a major reference for many years to come.

New York University

CHESTER C. TAN

NATIONALISM AND THE RIGHT WING IN JAPAN: A STUDY OF POST-WAR TRENDS. By *I. I. Morris*. With an introduction by *Maruyama Masao*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xxvii, 476. \$8.00.)

By coincidence Dr. Morris' scholarly analysis of Right-wing activities in post-war Japan appeared as the attention of the world was being riveted on the Left-wing's spectacular attempt to block ratification of the security treaty and President Eisenhower's visit. If the vast array of commentators on that episode had read this book, which they obviously did not, they would have been surprised to learn that, after a most painstaking analysis of trends, organizations, personalities, and events of the postwar era and their prewar connections, the author comes to the conclusion that, if democracy fails in Japan, it will in all likelihood be a Right-not a Left-wing dictatorship that will take over.

In arriving at this conclusion Morris does not overlook the weaknesses of the Right, nor does he come to it from undue concentration on their activities. He shows that ultranationalist organizations of prewar Japan were not only denied any political role, but were broken up by the occupation to such an extent that many of their members spent years in the countryside in nonpolitical activities. Also, in giving detailed information on their attempts to reassemble after 1950, he shows that they have been unable to effect a unified approach, to develop mass appeal, or to penetrate the new self-defense forces. This is in part because they are out of touch with prevailing peace sentiments, which the Communists exploit, and because some of their elements are, deservedly, associated with strong-arm thuggery by the public.

Nevertheless they have power. They are not "alien," as the Communists are. They have depth in Japanese traditions, and a far better command of the "amuletic" vocabulary of nationalism than the Left wing. But most important they are a natural "auxiliary" for powerful conservative forces, whether business, military, or both. They have no positive program, but, Morris argues, this is no different

than in the 1930's, when they merely helped rouse the nation against "enemies," providing "auxiliary" aid while conservatives formed the dictatorship.

Morris does not expect this to happen again unless severe economic difficulties beset Japan. He does not believe the Socialists can muster enough popular support to threaten the conservatives sufficiently to tempt them to utilize their Right-wing "auxiliaries." In order to aspire to power in present circumstances, the Socialists would have to compromise with conservatives too much to threaten them. But economic chaos could frighten the conservatives into desperate totalitarian measures, and he warns that America should not take comfort in the idea that a Right-wing dictatorship would be on "our side." It might, but it might not, and in any event its presence in Japan would likely end prospects for democracy in much of Asia.

Morris has marshaled an immense amount of evidence and argued convincingly. His book contains a special added attraction in the form of an introductory essay by Professor Maruyama Masao of Tokyo University, who is Japan's most distinguished historian of nineteenth- and twentieth-century ideological trends, but whose writings rarely appear in English.

University of Pennsylvania

HILARY CONROY

America

A GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: REPRESENTATIVE BOOKS REFLECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN LIFE AND THOUGHT. By *Donald H. Mugridge* and *Blanche P. McGrum*. Prepared under the direction of *Roy P. Basler*. (Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress; distrib. by Government Printing Office. 1960. Pp. xv, 1193. \$7.00.)

HERE is another oversized "must," this time a Library of Congress product, for the already groaning shelves of the historical worker. Stimulus for the compilation of this excellent aid to teaching and research came from the insistent requests for information on all phases of American life that have long flooded the mail of the nation's greatest library. Would it not be possible to publish in a single volume a series of bibliographical studies that would answer most of the questions being posed? For six years, beginning in 1952, many members of the Library staff worked diligently on this ambitious project, and this book attests the success of their efforts.

The new *Guide* is not a printed catalogue of the various books in the Library of Congress on chosen subjects. It is ruthlessly selective and seeks only to feature representative books in each field. The basis of selection has been "the value of each book as an expression of life in the United States." The determination of any such value is obviously a subjective matter, and there will inevitably be much disagreement as to the propriety of the selections. Indeed, any well-versed user of

this volume will be equally surprised at some of the omissions and some of the inclusions, but few will deny the "representative" character of the titles chosen.

The characteristic that distinguishes this *Guide* from others similarly titled is the rather full comment accorded to each entry. The nature of some books is evident from their titles, but on other works the normal comment runs from as much as one hundred to two hundred words, or even more. These entries are not meant to be short book reviews. They are primarily intended to stress the author's purpose and point of view, and they rarely disagree with him. They attempt to put his work in its proper perspective and to take due account of its "timeliness." The editors are quick to concede the hazards in this approach. Books published after 1955 are excluded, so that "timeliness" at best is five years behind the times, but a quest for "timelessness" would no doubt present greater problems. Furthermore, the people who ask the questions are usually present-minded.

The book contains thirty-one chapters of greatly varying length, each devoted to some aspect of American life and thought. Included are such sweeping fields as "Literature," "Literary History and Criticism," "Biography and Autobiography," "General History," "Diplomatic History and Foreign Relations," "Intellectual History," "Science and Technology," "Philosophy and Psychology," "Religion," "Art and Architecture," "Folklore, Folk Music, Folk Arts," "Law and Justice," "Politics, Parties, Elections." Since the Library of Congress collection amounts to a "mirror of national culture," no subject of consequence is omitted; only in a few instances need books be cited from other libraries, for the Library of Congress has most of them.

Historians will be grateful for this heroic work. Some may regret that only books, and not periodical articles, have been cited. But since even graduate students are now warned to put their best product into books, the omission can hardly be fatal. Followers of the *Guide* are not likely to be misled.

University of California, Berkeley

JOHN D. HICKS

HISTORICAL STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES, COLONIAL TIMES TO 1957: A STATISTICAL ABSTRACT SUPPLEMENT. Prepared by the Bureau of the Census with the Cooperation of the Social Science Research Council. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. 1960. Pp. xi, 789. \$6.00.)

THE first edition of *Historical Statistics of the United States*, published in 1949, suffered from an inadequate federal appropriation. The 363 pages of tables and index demonstrated the usefulness of such a volume, but its necessarily limited content frustrated historians. In 1950 the Census Bureau asked the Economic History Association to appoint a committee to recommend additional material for a revised edition. This committee's report in 1952 was influential in launching the project for a new volume, and it has been substantially followed in the present book. In preparing both editions the Social Science Research Council cooperated

closely with the Census Bureau. For the new volume the Council was able to secure a grant from the Ford Foundation that enabled the study to have 125 outside consultants.

As a result of many conferences and consultations the new book, which runs to nearly eight hundred pages, is an expression of present social science interests in statistical form. Migration has a section separate from that on population growth; series useful for charting the rise of the "welfare state" are in a section on social statistics; consumer income and expenditure is shown in considerable detail; price series are given much more space; new sections are included on vital statistics and medical care, power, communications, distribution and services, business enterprise, productivity and technological development; and all the reliable statistics on the colonies as a whole are put together at the end of the volume.

Tables in practically every section and subsection, new or old, have been improved in both coverage and accuracy. But because collection of the data would involve costly research, some of the old omissions still remain. For example, the tables for revenue, expenditure, and debt for state and local government start in 1902, and prior to 1932 figures are available only for 1902, 1913, 1922, and 1927. While the more ample financing of the present study has permitted some regional breakdowns, state, local, or metropolitan series are still lacking. In spite of the incomparability of metropolitan area or district figures from decade to decade, even a rough series in the population section would have been a great help to the social or economic historian.

As in the first edition, each table is introduced with full explanatory notes which constitute an excellent guide to the statistical literature of the United States. The editors have been very careful to point out discrepancies between various series and have tried to make similar series for different periods overlap so that the reader can judge the adjustment to be made in moving from one to the other. In general, series are expressed in current dollars, and the historian must remember to deflate the figures with whatever price index seems most suitable. At times this may seem unduly burdensome, but no uniform index could serve all purposes.

The great gains made between the first and second editions of this essential handbook should not lessen historical pressure on the government for an expanded new edition within the next decade. As our censuses becomes larger and more numerous the need for comprehensive historical abstracting becomes greater. Inclusion of many important state and local series could alone double the number of pages and warrant publication in two volumes.

University of Pennsylvania

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

THE JEFFERSON IMAGE IN THE AMERICAN MIND. By *Merrill D. Peterson*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 548. \$8.50.)

This is a well-written and well-documented analysis of American attitudes toward Jefferson since his death in 1826. As the theme treated is not what Jefferson

did or thought, but what others did or thought about Jefferson, manuscript sources are seldom used, but newspapers and other publications have been thoroughly utilized. The book appeared before the 1960 national conventions and presidential campaign, but shows that current invocation of the Sage of Monticello by both parties is nothing unusual. In 1859 both Republicans and Democrats celebrated his birthday, and in 1938 prominent leaders of each party even spoke at the same symposium. Eisenhower, Alfred Landon, Nicholas Murray Butler, the 1936 Liberty Leaguers, and Abraham Lincoln (as well as Stephen Douglas, proslavery advocates, nullificationists, Whigs, and "statesrighters") have claimed Jeffersonian sanction for their views. Ezra Pound has sought to link him with Fascist ideology, and Earl Browder with that of the Communists. These contradictions are not entirely the product of political expediency. Like the Bible, Jefferson can be cited for conflicting propositions. He favored limitations upon government, but also popular control of government. The author of the Declaration of Independence was also the sponsor of the Louisiana Purchase.

Jefferson's star waned after the Civil War. Hamiltonian materialism ran rampant. Then in 1892 the Democratic platform mentioned Jefferson; stalwarts such as William Jennings Bryan, Josephus Daniels, John Sharp Williams, Claude Bowers, and Franklin D. Roosevelt revived and extended his *éclat*. Meanwhile emphasis on his domestic life at Monticello (which became a popular shrine) and on his scientific and artistic temperament transformed him from a controversial political figure into an American cultural hero, of national rather than of partisan significance. Ironically, the New Deal accomplished his apotheosis as such a figure (issuing the three-cent stamp and five-cent coin with his portrait and sponsoring the bicentennial of his birth in 1943, the high point of which was dedication of the Jefferson Memorial) while at the same time his specific dogmas (such as opposition to a third term or to increase in the power of the executive branch of the federal government) ceased to have practical political significance. As partisan polemics paled, the day of historical scholarship, represented by Julian Boyd and Dumas Malone, dawned. The "quest for the historical Jefferson" could commence.

There is one *lapsus linguae* which might mislead the unwary: a reference to "the battle over confirmation of Judge Alton Parker's nomination to the Supreme Court." United States Circuit Judge John J. Parker of North Carolina is of course meant here, rather than the Democratic candidate for President in 1900. Trivial errors do not detract from the value of the book, which Boyd aptly describes on the jacket as "a work of impeccable scholarship and of absorbing interest."

Uniontown, Pennsylvania

EDWARD DUMBAULD

THE SOUTHERNER AS AMERICAN. Edited by *Charles Grier Sellers, Jr.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 216. \$5.00.)

NINE relatively young and aggressive southerners (five connected with the University of North Carolina) have endeavored to show that southern historical

writing, with its traditional emphasis on the South's "differentness" and on the conflict between southernism and Americanism, has been seriously distorted. According to their view, the Old South was compelled to defend slavery which in itself was at war with its deepest values, and the New South has been conditioned by the sentimental myth of the Lost Cause as well as caught in the dilemma between its own false values and those of industrial America. They argue that the most important fact about the southerner is that throughout history he has also been American.

In a slightly petulant essay, John Hope Franklin reviews more than a century of historical activity in the South, from the days of emphasis on the region's contribution to the nation, to the use of history as defensive propaganda, and as "an act of sectional allegiance and devotion," until its more recent approach to high standards of objectivity. Thomas P. Govan rather thoroughly demolishes the popular notion of two divergent, irreconcilable social and economic systems divided by the Mason-Dixon line: tariff, banking, and inflation-deflation issues transcended sectional loyalties; Calhoun's economic policies were unsupported by a southern majority; and in the 1850's, southerners considered themselves Americans economically. With relentless fervor, Charles Grier Sellers pursues his conviction that the "white men of the ante-bellum South drove toward catastrophe by doing conscious violence to their truest selves," that their libertarian ideas did not die but "burrowed beneath the surface of the southern mind." Their inner conflict prevented unity, evoked violent reaction to northern criticism as well as a belligerent dogmatism, and at the same time doomed slavery at the hands of the South itself.

According to Grady McWhiney, the South has never really forsaken the American ideology of the democratic dogma and progress, but was willing in the case of slavery to sacrifice democracy for profits, and later, during Reconstruction, found it possible to support democracy once again in order to get back on the road to progress. In the most satisfying of the essays, George B. Tindall brings up to date the "central theme" of U. B. Phillips, showing how twentieth-century white supremacists appropriated the proslavery arguments. As Americans, white southerners have never completely abandoned the American creed. With the gradual erosion of the philosophical basis for the neopeculiar institution, they are beginning to recognize the Negro as a southerner as well as an American. In an even-tempered plea for acceptance of the inevitable, L. D. Reddick stresses southern black-white similarities while demonstrating the basic identity of American and Negro creeds. Ably surveying southern politics since the Civil War, Dewey W. Grantham traces the rise and fall of white supremacy, the South's "great ideological aberration," and with cautious prophecy brings the reader into the 1960 election.

The Southerner as American has the appearance of a contrived volume. If addressed to an intelligent popular audience, there is little reason for the inclusion of "The Southerner as American Writer," written for the specialist, nor for the complex footnotes remindful of a senior theme. If aimed in the direction of historians,

"The Southerner as Fighting Man," readable as it may be, is extraneous, the footnotes should have been made more accessible, and an index provided. These people, furthermore, may not take kindly to the paraphrasing of Stamp, Eaton, Wiley, and Cash. In spite of obvious pleading and considerable contradiction, the volume will, nonetheless, contribute substantially to the demolition of a mythical past which has encouraged the South to stand apart from the modern world.

University of Mississippi

JAMES W. SILVER

THE *FEDERALIST*: A CLASSIC ON FEDERALISM AND FREE GOVERNMENT. By *Gottfried Dietze*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 378. \$6.50.)

MR. Dietze has made an important contribution to the large literature on the *Federalist* papers by his determined concentration throughout most of his text upon the general argument and political philosophy of the work itself. After an introduction which surveys the history of the *Federalist* as a book in Europe as well as in America, he deals more briefly with its genesis in the new republic's constitutional struggle, and with its three authors.

The main body of the work consists of an analysis of the *Federalist* based upon the view that in defending the new Constitution the authors were concerned with making a threefold case for it: that it would preserve individual freedom against the tyranny of democratic majorities in the states; that it would eliminate the causes of dissension between the states; and that it would enable the Republic better to defend itself against external foes. He believes that the experiences of the revolutionary period had altered the priorities attached to these objectives by the authors of the *Federalist* so that by the time they wrote, the defense of freedom seemed most important.

The author accepts the view that the work has something of a "split personality" and shows that Hamilton and Madison differed in their emphasis on many of the most important issues involved. For the defense of freedom Madison looked to the balance of interests ensured by the federal structure of the Republic, and Hamilton to the strengthening of the central authority. They disagreed on whether the separation of powers was designed to keep all three parts of the system in check, or whether, as Hamilton thought, it was only the legislature that needed to be feared. Madison thought the new union would come into being through an interstate compact, Hamilton through the people's own act. Hamilton considered the "necessary and proper" and "supremacy" clauses merely declaratory, Madison as essential. Dietze believes that the two authors were unaware of the differences between them at the time, and that the text was ambiguous enough to permit rival schools of thought finding comfort from it in the future.

The author then proceeds to examine past confederations in other parts of the world and past political theorists in order to see what was original in the *Federalist*.

This part of the work is less satisfactory since it is hard to distinguish between the originality of the *Federalist* and that of the Constitution it expounds. His relative indifference to aspects of federalism other than the protection of individual (i.e., property) rights makes Dietze ignore altogether the elements of federalism in the prerevolutionary structure of the British Empire, and the canvassing of federal solutions before and during the Revolution's course. He comes to the conclusion that the major originality of the *Federalist* lies in its exposition of judicial review.

In the concluding section Dietze reveals himself as a strong political partisan, holding views similar to those of Professor F. A. Hayek among social theorists, and of Mr. Herbert Hoover among statesmen. For him the period since Theodore Roosevelt has seen the decline of traditional American political wisdom in favor of mere majoritarian democracy culminating in the virtual abdication of the Supreme Court as a defender of property rights at the time of the New Deal. At the same time he sees in postwar Europe evidence of a growing respect for federalism and judicial review on classical American lines. The evidence for this seems as shaky as his lamentation for American democracy seems premature.

All Souls College, Oxford

MAX BELOFF

LEGACY OF SUPPRESSION: FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS IN
EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Leonard W. Levy*. (Cambridge, Mass.:
Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 353. \$6.50.)

THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION AND CIVIL LIBERTIES, 1917-1921.
By *Harry N. Scheiber*. [Cornell Studies in American History, Literature, and
Folklore, Number 6.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1960. Pp. ix,
69. \$1.25.)

PROFESSOR Levy of Brandeis University has added significantly to the growing literature on the history of civil liberties in the United States. His *Legacy of Suppression* will evoke controversy, for it questions some long-cherished and currently popular assumptions. From his careful examination of the contemporary sources, Levy has derived a frankly revisionist interpretation of the understandings and intentions of the men who framed the First Amendment's clause on freedom of speech and of the press.

He regretfully concludes that the Bill of Rights (and the states' equivalents) was by no means the firm philosophical commitment to individual rights against government power that jurists Holmes, Black, and Douglas, lawyers Chafee, Fraenkel, and Rogge, and historians James M. Smith and Pritchett, among many others, have held it to be. In the context of its time, the American experiment in constitutionalism was decidedly libertarian, but the framers of the First Amendment did not intend it to terminate the government's power to punish seditious libels provided for in English common law.

Long before our Revolution, Englishmen had accepted the Blackstonian position

that adequate freedom of speech and writing existed when government imposed no prior restraints. Subsequent prosecution for criticism, however, was considered needful and right. This formula met the needs of the American colonists, who exhibited little capacity for toleration of dissent within their communities, albeit a remarkable diversity developed as between colonies and settlements. Two decades of agitation and revolution taught tenacious lessons in the utility and methodology of suppression, and placed a premium on conformity. What is surprising, as Levy remarks, is that some of the men who led the revolutionary cause and who staffed the governments of the new nation and states thereafter should have been sensitive to civil liberties at all.

The fact that many were not is evidenced by the appearance of the Sedition Act only seven years after the First Amendment was ratified. That act accepted the old Blackstone standard for the national government. If juries were now to have a hand in rendering the verdict, this merely modified, it did not abolish, the common-law formula. States retained their discrete power to punish political criticism.

Thus, in the 1790's, the nation's and states' bills of rights were far from being blanket bills of wrongs which no government might commit. From this uninspiring parentage, Levy traces the beginnings of a most exalting growth. The Federalists' attack drew from Gallatin and John Nicholas a forward-looking rejection of Blackstone's criteria, advancing in its place the assertion that political expression was exempt from punishment. Jefferson moved ahead to claim that the very concept of seditious libel was repugnant to the First Amendment. If he descended from that height after 1801, he climbed even higher later. America owes much to that ascent, and our recent history reflects the acuity of the author's closing phrase: "That they were Blackstonians does not mean that we cannot be Brandeisians."

Levy's devotion to the most rigorous standards of restrained, careful scholarship is apparent in this book as in his earlier work on Lemuel Shaw. Eschewing "present-minded" blinders, he has mined the sparse, scattered sources with great profit. *Legacy of Suppression* is written clearly and well, and suffers surprisingly little from what I feel is an inescapable problem of repetition in subject matter. The book should have wide professional use.

As a supplement to Levy's work, Mr. Sheiber's tantalizingly brief study of civil liberties during Wilson's war administration indicates how easily men faced with an apparent crisis regress to the harsh approaches of the past. I was, however, vexed by this quick overview of a subject too significant for cursory treatment, and by such language as "Representative Webb . . . offered a bill which appealed to those superpatriots who yearned for a return to Star Chamber." Even as it stands, this revised master's thesis is the best summation of its theme in print, and its bibliography will be useful to all workers in the field. I trust that the author will develop this flirtation into a full study and do further credit to his evident abilities.

University of California, Los Angeles

HAROLD M. HYMAN

THE LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF JAMES FENIMORE COOPER. In two volumes. Edited by *James Franklin Beard*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. xlv, 444; viii, 420. \$20.00 the set.)

Of all nineteenth-century American literary writers, Fenimore Cooper made the greatest impression on Europeans. The *matière d'Amérique*, with the figures of Leatherstocking and Chingachgook, was his contribution to their dream of America. In France, in Germany, even in Russia, the landscape of the imagination was covered by his forests and peopled by his palefaces and redskins. In our own present popular fancy, cowboys and horsed Indians have won out. Recent literary criticism, however, following a trail of myth and symbol has begun to rescue Cooper's novels of the frontier. Books like Smith's *Virgin Land* and Lewis' *The American Adam* have shown the academic a respectable way to reach him. It is to be hoped we will, whatever the helping hand.

For Cooper is rewarding in more ways than that of the harmony of symbols. James Beard's first two volumes of *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper* are an indication of the author's importance to serious students of America's dream of itself. *The Letters* do not give much to fatten the interpretation of the Leatherstocking Tales. Such early letters as have been saved are sparse. What we do have in these two volumes, however, is a remarkable record of the seven years from 1826 to 1833 which Cooper spent abroad with his family, chiefly in Paris. His recordings of the European revolutionary period deserve the attention of any historian of that era. But the letters cast light on Jacksonian America as well, a period which no amount of simplification has clarified.

As for many before and many since, Cooper's residence abroad only whetted his identity as an American and his sense of Americanism. Looking at decaying monarchy, he saw the democratic idea of America in reverse. Both images are readable and have seldom been so clearly expressed. He was given and he took full opportunity for expression: in letters, in pamphlets, and by a novel a year. An acquaintance of the aging Lafayette, he was drawn into French liberal circles as a kind of latter-day Franklin, *sans bonnet de peau* but with the image of *Bas de Cuir* at his elbow and the vision of democracy and of natural law at the tip of his pen.

Cooper is polemically impressive whether in epistolary comments paralleling his *Notions of the Americans* (written at Lafayette's request to celebrate the revolutionary hero's triumphal return to America) or those novels like *The Bravo*, *The Heidenmauer*, and *The Headsman* which, ostensibly about Europe, tell so much about America. What the American intellectual historian has needed for the understanding and use of Cooper's novels of ideas is precisely what Beard's volumes now provide: a documentation of the high seriousness of Cooper's maintained attitude both toward Europe and his own country, of the completeness with which this sense of democratic mission occupied his life, of the richness of his connections on both sides of the Atlantic, and of the optimism which underlay his opinions of both. The possibilities of new and important scholarly work on Cooper begin to open up.

There has been considerably less scholarly interest in Cooper than is justified. This has been due partly to the inability of earlier literary critics to read him with understanding and to the narrower limits that historians placed on their material. Something of the absence, however, has been due to the unavailability of such Cooper papers as are not in the Yale Library and the nature of the only earlier published collection of his letters, edited by his grandson in 1922. "The original letters contain much of too intimate a nature for the eyes of the public even now: this has been eliminated," the grandson wrote in his introduction. "In no case," he went on, "has the elimination of any part of a letter been indicated by stars or otherwise, and as far as possible footnotes have been dispensed with." By restoring these omissions, supplying footnotes, and adding such invaluable correspondences as Cooper's letters to Mrs. Peter Augustus Jay, Horatio Greenough, Charles Wilkes, and S. F. B. Morse, Beard has added immensely to our knowledge of an American democrat.

Yale University

NORMAN HOLMES PEARSON

DIARY OF GIDEON WELLES, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY UNDER LINCOLN AND JOHNSON. Volume I, 1861-MARCH 30, 1864; Volume II, APRIL 1, 1864-DECEMBER 31, 1866; Volume III, JANUARY 1, 1867-JUNE 6, 1869. Edited and with an introduction by *Howard K. Beale*. Assisted by *Alan W. Brownsword*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1960. Pp. liii, 549; xvi, 653; xv, 740. \$30.00.)

In 1911 when Houghton Mifflin published a three-volume edition of the *Diary of Gideon Welles*, historians promptly recognized this long, detailed, explicit, vivid, and forthright record by Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy as a major source for the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction. But there was strong internal evidence that some passages had been written later than the date to which they were assigned in the diary. H. Barrett Learned, working purely from inference, demonstrated this fact in his review in the *American Historical Review* (XVII [Apr. 1912], 629). About a decade later, Edward Channing examined the original manuscript and suggested to the late Howard K. Beale, then a graduate student at Harvard, that he make a critical study of the discrepancies between the manuscript and the printed version.

Beale did so, and in 1925 published a summary of his findings in "Is the Printed Diary of Gideon Welles Reliable?" (*AHR*, XXX [Apr. 1925], 547.) He had discovered, in the eighteen volumes of manuscript now in the Library of Congress, that the diary had been heavily worked over by Welles, presumably between 1869 and his death in 1878, and that, in the process of this "revision," it had been subjected to literally thousands of alterations, most of them negligible, but some of appreciable importance. He discovered also that Welles's son, Edgar Welles, in editing the manuscript had made deletions and alterations which were improper at best and which seemed all the more outrageous in view of the fact that in the

introduction and preface, John T. Morse, Jr., had included a pious homily about the dishonesty of tampering with a text and Edgar Welles had stated that, although personally disposed to make some omissions, he had yielded to the demands of scholars who insisted on keeping the text intact, so that in the end only "a few strong expressions, purely personal and private, have been omitted, but the omission has always been indicated and the reader may have full confidence that the text of the diary has in no way been mutilated or revised."

For the past thirty-five years historians have been obliged either to use an imperfect version of the diary or to go to the manuscript in Washington. It is a clear gain for scholarship, therefore, that Beale prepared a new edition of the Welles diary, which shows all the additions, alterations, and omissions later made, either by Welles himself or by the editors (indicated separately).

This new edition nowhere acknowledges the extent to which it has merely reprinted the original edition, with a new introduction, an appendix of letters following the index, and of course the all-important corrections. Not only are the entire 1,873 pages of the original edition copied by photo offset from the 1911 edition with corrections superimposed (a necessary editorial device) but the table of contents, the illustrations, the index, and even the inadvertent omission of one page in the index which Houghton Mifflin remedied by issuing a separate sheet, page 657a, left out by the present edition, are also carried over from the earlier edition. (The missing page contains the entry on Sumner.)

From the scholarly standpoint, the primary fact is that we now have a critical and accurate text. This fact overshadows the following observations, but the question will arise: Just how much did the alterations distort the meaning of the original diary, and to what extent are historical accounts based upon the 1911 edition now untenable? Beale's introduction seems to overstate the extent of the discrepancies. On pages xlii-li, it discusses a series of passages that were altered or omitted, in each case suggesting that the essential meaning of the diary was changed by the alteration. But in most of these cases there were other passages, remaining as Welles wrote them, which preserved the meaning of the edited passages. Space allows but one example: Edgar Welles omitted one of his father's statements that John P. Hale of New Hampshire was "corrupt, a rogue as well as a buffoon," and Beale therefore asserts that "Edgar Welles protected Senator John P. Hale of Maine [*sic*] by suppressing his father's conviction that Hale was of bad character." Far from suppressing this conviction, Edgar Welles published a number of other passages castigating Hale, such as: "Hale is a canting hypocrite, corrupt and base. He opposed me and the navy and Navy Department throughout the war, because I would not allow him to job the department. Villainy and baseness ultimately gets its reward."

The plain fact is that Gideon Welles was very repetitive. The passages he added were mostly repetitions of other passages already present and the passages that Edgar Welles subtracted were mostly repetitions of other passages that he left undisturbed, except for a few on the consumption of whisky by prominent men.

Although technically amateurish, the 1911 text was uncensored to a remarkable degree and it left little for subsequent editors to disclose. Still, for the historian, nothing can substitute for an accurate text.

Beale perhaps overstated the discrepancies between manuscript and published text as much as Edgar Welles understated them. The great difference, however, is that Beale gave us the means of evaluating his own introduction, and this Edgar Welles did not do. We have Beale to thank for the fact that Gideon Welles, the daily recorder of daily events, is forever disentangled from Gideon Welles, the reviser and thinker of afterthoughts, and that both of these Gideons stand clear at last of Edgar Welles and John T. Morse, Jr.

Yale University

DAVID M. POTTER

THE COPPERHEADS IN THE MIDDLE WEST. By *Frank L. Klement*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 341. \$7.50.)

THIS book's contribution can be evaluated, it would seem, only by comparison with an earlier study of the Copperheads, Professor Wood Gray's *The Hidden Civil War*, published in 1942. Both volumes are solidly based upon research in personal manuscripts, newspapers, government records, and the published writings of Copperheads and their opponents. Of the two volumes, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* apparently rests upon more personal manuscript collections, mentions the names of more individual Copperheads, and provides a somewhat more detailed account of events in the Middle West; *The Hidden Civil War*, on the other hand, stands upon the files of more newspapers, discusses Copperheads in areas other than the Middle West, and contains a most useful set of maps concerning economic conditions and voting.

The images that emerge from the two volumes are similar in many respects. Midwestern Copperheads are identified in both studies, for example, as Irish-Americans and German-Americans in the cities, largely Roman Catholic in religion; as transplanted southerners or their children who lived on the smaller and poorer farms and who were usually Methodist or Baptist in religion; and, in general, as individuals who voted the Democratic ticket and who were in the lower portion of the educational, economic, and social scale. Many of the attitudes and actions of midwestern Copperheads are also described in similar terms in both books: they criticized Republicans, eastern owners of midwestern railroads, New England manufacturers, and Negroes; they opposed the tariff acts of 1861-1862, the excise taxes of 1862, the National Bank Act of 1863, the emancipation of slaves, conscription by the national government, and arbitrary arrests and other violations of civil liberties; they supported movements to stop the fighting and make peace in 1863 and 1864.

While there are many similarities in the two studies, there are also differences, both in "statements of fact" and in "interpretation," to such an extent that two distinct portraits emerge. Midwestern Copperheads, as pictured in Gray's book,

clung to utterly unrealistic hopes that the Union could be restored without military defeat of Confederate armed forces; Copperheads had some legitimate grievances due to arbitrary arrests and other actions by Republican partisans, but the Union was in danger and Copperheads did little to defend it, while some of them were willing to sacrifice the Union and some connived with agents of the Confederacy. The Copperheads of Klement's book, however, comprised the loyal opposition. Although they were unrealistic in some of their expectations and were partisan in some of their actions, they were not pro-Confederate or traitorous; they were westerners resisting domination by eastern industrialists; their inspiration was Jeffersonian-Jacksonian; and they were the forerunners of the later Greenbackers and Grangers.

Since these two portraits are based in part upon different evidence and in part upon different interpretation of the same evidence, it seems unfortunate that *The Copperheads in the Middle West* does not contain explicit, precise, and rigorous analyses of its differences from *The Hidden Civil War*. For example, *The Hidden Civil War* states (pp. 167-69) that on June 11, 1864, the Copperhead leader Vallandigham inducted Confederate agent Jacob Thompson into the secret society of which Vallandigham was president, and arranged that this secret society should accept nearly \$500,000 from Confederate agents. This would seem to be an important "fact," if it is a "fact," but it is neither denied, affirmed, nor mentioned in *The Copperheads in the Middle West*, nor is *The Hidden Civil War* itself mentioned except in one footnote (p. 269, n. 1), along with the titles of ten other publications. My conclusion is that, insofar as the two books differ, there are "truths" in each account. Thus, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* should be read in connection with, rather than in place of, *The Hidden Civil War*.

University of Washington

THOMAS J. PRESSLY

GRANT MOVES SOUTH. By Bruce Catton. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1960. Pp. x, 564. \$6.50.)

LLOYD Lewis' justly praised *Captain Sam Grant* appeared in 1950, the first of a projected three-volume biography of U. S. Grant. Though the work was cut short by Lewis' death, both his widow and his publisher wanted the task completed. Bruce Catton studied Lewis' notes, did additional research, and in *Grant Moves South* has produced a book which does no violence to Lewis' conception of Grant while being at the same time very much his own study.

This volume commences with Grant's assignment to command the Twenty-first Illinois in June 1861 and follows him through the surrender of Vicksburg in July 1863. These years marked Grant as one of the few generals who learned anything about the changing nature of warfare in the 1860's. In the Forts Henry and Donelson operations, in the costly victory at Shiloh, in the frustrations of late 1862 and early 1863, Grant learned steadily; Lincoln would finally regard him as indispensable because "he fights."

Nobody paid much attention to Grant early in the war, and the attention he received was mostly bad. Rumors of his troubles in the 1850's persisted, and his curious nondescriptness prevented his making favorable impressions on casual acquaintances. Shortly after Shiloh, a war correspondent, unable to solve the riddle of Grant's past, his unheroic appearance, and his victories, labeled him "an unpronounceable man." This impression was strange because it contradicted what most people thought about Grant then and would think later. He seemed a fairly simple soul, and he comes from history either as a dull-witted "butcher," as a habitual "drunkard," or as a man many later writers spotted for a genius at first sight. That none of these impressions is true Catton conclusively demonstrates. Catton's Grant is a likeable, developing man, a man who begins his war career unsure of himself but sure of his duty. Each step in his rise is marked by self-condemnation and much solid thinking. He had a clear, logical, but not a quick mind, and all of his strategic ideas came slowly and with concentration unclouded by hard liquor. Contemporaries who saw flashes of brilliance in his plodding system were few indeed.

Catton credits Grant with a growing understanding of war's undercurrents. Perhaps Grant had such understanding; certainly that quality which elevated him far above most of his contemporaries was an appreciation of logistics. Catton shows this clearly, and it is easy to see that it will be a main theme in Volume III. Grant was a product of his time, but he was more. His recognition of war as business enterprise by mid-1863 illustrates that he had matured. When Vicksburg surrendered, argues Catton, Grant was ready for anything that might happen next.

Grant Moves South is a splendidly written, well-documented book, a happy blend of biography and military history. Grant, the man, is not easy to portray. Some shades of character can be caught only in motion—a fact that made Catton's decision to deal with both man and career essential. The resulting interpretation is fresh and penetrating, but might be improved by the inclusion of more details than the length of the book permitted.

The full characterization of Grant in Volume III will be eagerly awaited.

Rice University

FRANK E. VANDIVER

ORDEAL OF FAITH: THE CRISIS OF CHURCH-GOING AMERICA, 1865-1900. By Francis P. Weisenburger. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1959. Pp. 380. \$6.00.)

Ordeal of Faith is a sweeping survey of the forces and conflicts that transformed American Christianity in the period 1865-1900. The book's subtitle affords the cue to the author's analysis. His treatment is largely, and perhaps logically, biographical in nature. Hundreds of persons are introduced into the narrative, and many of them are reintroduced in connection with various issues that arose. Weisenburger handles his material skillfully and ties the narrative together without overburdening

his readers with unnecessary or irrelevant detail. No religious group, denominational or other, escaped the sharp conflicts of the period. Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and such liberal groups as Unitarians and Universalists were all affected. Fringe groups or sects like Swedenborgians and Spiritualists gained some recruits from among dissatisfied seekers for spiritual consolation.

Starting with the year 1865, Weisenburger presents a tolerant, happy, and complacent churchgoing America with much interdenominational and even some interfaith cooperation. A rather widespread observance of religious worship was practiced in colleges and universities. The author does not mean that all church pews were filled. Following the Civil War many were empty, and a chapter is devoted to an explanation of the causes for this indifference. But the real disruptive forces that brought tensions and strife stemmed from the conflict between religion and science.

The development of scientific inquiry threatened to destroy the pretensions not only of Catholicism but of orthodox Protestant faiths as well "by indicating the human origins of all religious institutions." Geological science challenged the Biblical account of creation. Darwin's evolutionary theories threw doubts upon scriptural accuracy, and the development of Biblical criticism questioned the authority of many of the foundations of orthodoxy. Out of these roots of controversy sprang many new interpretations and adjustments which sought to reconcile the old and the new. Social Darwinism justified the competitive system on the basis of the survival of the fittest. The new Social Gospel sought to restore something of the Christian doctrine of brotherly love by creating a social conscience extending to all facets of life, although this appears at best a vague concept throughout rural America. New theological concepts that would take into consideration continuous progressive change according to certain indisputable laws and forces as well as society's responsibility for much that was considered sinful came into being. While life became increasingly complex and secular, the church ceased to occupy the central place that it had once held. Despite the sweeping revivals of Moody and Sankey, the new intellectual currents had swept away many of the older concepts and brought much insecurity in matters of faith by the end of the century. At the same time there were many who welcomed the new truths as divine revelations.

Ordeal of Faith represents a prodigious amount of labor, and it is a valuable synthesis. One senses throughout, however, that the great mass of church people and their ministers were little concerned or affected by these controversies. Weisenburger concludes that "however little or much personal views had been altered, the faith of the Church lived on in the hearts and lives of men." In the light of this conclusion the author's judgment that the new concepts brought adjustments "that were more difficult than any since the Reformation" would not appear to be supported by the evidence. This study is not a major contribution to the interpretation of American church history, nor was it so intended. Rather it places in the hands of historians a convenient and useful synthesis of facts that would be

difficult to assemble. Poor footnotes, an inadequate index, and the lack of a bibliography, perhaps necessitated by economy of space, lessen the book's value.

University of California, Santa Barbara

WESLEY M. GEWEHR

FARMER MOVEMENTS IN THE SOUTH, 1865-1933. By *Theodore Saloutos*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXIV.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 354. \$6.50.)

This monograph provides an excellent topical treatment of organized farm movements in the South from 1865 through World War I, including the Grange, the Agricultural Wheel, the Southern Alliance and its political offshoot, the Populist party (as Saloutos sees it), the Southern Cotton Association, the Farmers' Union, and the various cotton and tobacco associations. It discusses the origins, programs, reasons for decline, and influence of each movement. In the last four chapters the organizational pattern takes greater cognizance of interrelationships between national political administrations and the farm movements and of their long-range significance. Throughout the book Saloutos concentrates on the "dirt farmers" and their organizations, rather than on educators, public-spirited citizens, or southern demagogic leadership.

Saloutos considers the groups treated to have been the most effective agencies for expressing southern farmers' discontent and aspirations. He argues that philosophically and psychologically southern agrarians had more in common with the New Freedom and the New Deal than did the midwesterners, and presents evidence to sustain his view that southerners influenced the agricultural thinking of the nation considerably more than has generally been realized. Crop control and scarcity features of modern farm programs certainly have ample historical antecedents in southern thinking. Saloutos provides, moreover, a much-needed questioning of the currently popular idea that farm movements have been conservative, negative, and futile.

Scholars and students will find the book an accurate and useful factual reference and a source of provocative generalizations for further investigation. Throughout the study, Saloutos has attempted to set regional organizations within the national pattern, although he frequently goes no further than to suggest parallels or contrasts. Readers will disagree with some of his conclusions and emphases. Although, for instance, to classify society in the Old South into large planters, small farmers, and "poor white trash" provides a convenient way of treating the story, I am inclined to think that a better balance would have been achieved by recognizing the findings of the Owsley group and of Thomas D. Clark's treatment of the furnishing and supply system of the postwar South. Perhaps too the author has minimized the southern demagogue's role in southern agricultural policy, granted that others have exaggerated his importance. Saloutos explains his paucity of attention to leaders of the various movements in terms of lack of available materials and also comments that many of the arguments advanced by the organizations seem commonplace

by modern standards. Both factors make the book tiresome at points. It would also have benefited from more rigorous attention to style.

University of Missouri

LEWIS ATHERTON

THE TRUMPET SOUNDETH: WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN AND HIS DEMOCRACY, 1896-1912. By *Paul W. Glad*. ([Lincoln:] University of Nebraska Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 242. \$4.75.)

WILLIAM Jennings Bryan's career deserves more serious and thorough treatment than historians have devoted to it. Professor Glad makes a valuable contribution to the Bryan literature as he interprets Bryan's role as a leader of the political opposition between 1896 and 1912.

The author begins by describing the patterns of culture on the Middle Border and gives special attention to Protestantism, the McGuffey *Reader*, and Chautauqua, showing how these influences made a permanent imprint upon Bryan's thinking and action. Having placed Bryan in this cultural framework, Glad follows the Peerless Leader's career through the campaign of 1896, the question of imperialism, and the campaign of 1900. He describes Bryan's position on the basic economic and political reforms, his place in the progressive movement, and finally his role as a party leader. This is not a biography of Bryan or a general history of the period. It is essentially intellectual history in which the author deals with Bryan's ideas and evaluates the Great Commoner's pronouncements and positions on public policy during the important years up to 1912.

The book's theme is that Bryan favored a set of basic economic and political principles, including stricter control of big business, the income tax, reduced tariff rates, and direct election of senators, and that he made valuable contributions in achieving these reforms. Bryan is also given most of the credit for keeping the Democratic party oriented toward progressivism after 1896, except for the embrace of conservatism in 1904. Bryan is placed in the stream of rural progressivism, and the author points out what he considers the major differences between rural and urban progressives.

No one will deny that Bryan spoke for many Americans. Just how influential he was in helping to achieve political and economic reform is another matter. The problem of assessing the importance and influence of leadership, especially that of an opposition leader, is very difficult. Undoubtedly, some will conclude that Glad has overemphasized Bryan's part in bringing about national reforms up to 1912, but the author has made a good case for his contention.

Based on thorough and extensive research in both primary and secondary sources, the book is clearly and interestingly written, and includes an excellent collection of Bryan pictures. This volume will fill an important place as we wait for Paolo Coletta's full-scale biography of Bryan.

University of Oklahoma

GILBERT C. FITE

FROM THE MORGENTHAU DIARIES: YEARS OF CRISIS, 1928-1938. By John Morton Blum. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1959. Pp. xxi, 583. \$7.50.)

The Morgenthau Diaries are misleadingly named. While occasionally including the kind of personal data of diary type, the contents of the more than eight hundred bound volumes consist of papers that crossed the Secretary's desk, letters and memoranda, incoming and outgoing, verbatim minutes of meetings held in his office, stenographic transcripts of other meetings attended personally or by subordinates, and transcribed telephone conversations. Professor John M. Blum, by arrangement with Mr. Morgenthau, has organized these materials into a third person narrative of the activities of Mr. Morgenthau and the Treasury Department prior to 1938 and has thus provided another important piece of the New Deal puzzle. The work is of special interest because of the Treasury Department's large share in determining and executing financial policies that affected virtually every aspect of domestic and foreign activities.

The picture that emerges reveals the intimate, but not completely harmonious, relationship between Morgenthau and the President. Morgenthau states in a "Personal Note" at the front of the volume: "Many times Mr. Roosevelt needed a whipping boy and he favored me with that role. But then, he had to run for office and be re-elected and I didn't." The work is also revealing in the impression it conveys of both men. Morgenthau emerges as a public servant of entire disinterestedness; "the most influential spokesman" of "the orthodox school" of economics of his day; an administrator who picked able subordinates and trusted their decisions; and as a man whose fiscal policies were not oblivious of human needs. He is also given his proper due as a shrewd analyst of the world menace of the times. Roosevelt fares nearly as well, yet his shiftiness and evasiveness come through as do his political caution and opportunism.

Morgenthau's views of other New Deal associates, especially some who have been critical of him in their works, is less satisfactory. As in the case of Hull, definite value judgments occasionally emerge, but generally the work, both fortunately and unfortunately, avoids the personal approach of the Ickes volumes and sets the record straight as to the role of certain figures in the affairs of their day.

The useful chapter on the workings of the Treasury Department at a time when it not only worried about supervising the Bureau of Narcotics and Customs, the Secret Service, the Procurement Division, and the trying duties of the Coast Guard, but had to operate the Public Health Service as well is of special interest. Revealing in a different sense is the description of the 1937-1938 recession and administrative response to it. The impression conveyed indicates considerably more administration indecision than previously thought. Roosevelt is seen at one point as a "cornered lion," and while he still defends it, Morgenthau's insistence upon a balanced budget today seems incongruous in the light of the real needs which that episode brought so sharply into focus. Likewise the earlier gold buying plan does not stand up well, although other aspects of the Secretary's role in the international

monetary picture do. These include his involvement of the United States in stabilization actions with Great Britain and France and his bold expression of our international obligations at a time when Hull, for one, was overcautious. Throughout the work similar useful data emerges, which will force us to revise previous judgments considerably, especially that Morgenthau was a less than primary figure in the constellation that surrounded FDR.

Valuable as it is, I still retain some possibly unjustifiable misgivings about this project. While Blum and his staff have admittedly performed an arduous task well, is it a task befitting the professional historian? Blum protests in his foreword that while super- and supra-ghost writing techniques have been used, this has led to no loss of objectivity. He might have eased a number of minds if he had merely admitted that the task took him temporarily outside the vineyards of the guild and that, although his work might not always serve the cause of history *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, he felt it important to make available the Morgenthau view in a usable form. The work, after all, is the Morgenthau appraisal of events and presents a favorable picture of Morgenthau's secretaryship.

University of Minnesota

PAUL L. MURPHY

1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE: PRESIDENTS AND THE PEOPLE, 1929-1959. By *Walter Johnson*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1960. Pp. x, 390. \$6.00.)

MORE than most people, historians are acutely aware of the revolutionary changes that external forces and internal pressures have wrought in the United States during the last three decades. The challenge in writing about these almost contemporary changes is to take advantage of the insights the historian has gained through first-hand experience with the events, yet to try to bring to bear upon the happenings of his generation the same dispassionate analysis he would apply to the distant past. The task is not easy, but Walter Johnson, who had a hand in shaping one of the events of which he writes (the 1952 nomination of Adlai Stevenson), has succeeded commendably in his survey of the American presidency since 1929. His is an unflinching liberal interpretation which may distress some of his readers, but his viewpoints are no more pronounced than those historians have customarily displayed in writing of the administrations of Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, and other long-departed Presidents.

Reminding his readers how cataclysmic the depression was for millions of unemployed, Johnson characterizes the rigid economic policies with which President Hoover met the crisis as "politics of drift" and "ineptness in the White House." In contrast, he labels the policies of President Roosevelt "politics of resourcefulness." He recognizes Roosevelt's limitations in the series of setbacks between the scheme to reform the Supreme Court in 1937 and the failure to eliminate Democratic conservatives from Congress in 1938. But of the four Presidents he analyzes,

Roosevelt is far and away his favorite. It was Roosevelt who took full advantage of the relatively new mass medium of communication, the radio, to establish himself as a vital, almost intimate, personality among the American people: "Foreign observers of American society frequently have remarked that the mass public is a deadening influence incapable of meeting a crisis, and a force opposed to enlightened progress. The pressing circumstances from 1933 to 1945 and Roosevelt's artistry in leadership generally turned this 'weakness' into a positive strength. A happy coincidence of personal qualities and technological opportunities rallied the public to meet the challenges of depression and war."

President Truman receives lower marks in Johnson's appraisal of his strengths and weaknesses. While Johnson gives Truman credit for making big decisions in a correct and courageous way, he is less enthusiastic about the President's personal leadership: "Truman lacked artistry in public relations. When he spoke, his gestures were as awkward as a penguin's waddle and his flat Midwestern twang jarred radio loudspeakers. . . . Handicapped by constant comparison with Roosevelt, he could say firmly and accurately: 'It is awfully easy to "demagogue" in favor of economy and against what is scornfully referred to as "foreign aid,"' but he could not furnish the inspired leadership which convinced the public he was leading a just cause. And in the critical days after the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek and intervention in Korea, he was unable to explain Administration policies convincingly enough to lift the public out of its confusion."

When in 1952 a shifting electorate brought in President Eisenhower, the nation received what Johnson terms "intermittent leadership." Although his analysis of modern Republicanism is far from ecstatic, he concludes: "In spite of the Republican extremists, Eisenhower presided over a successful adjustment to the realities of world politics and consolidation of America's social gains. But presidential firmness to foster national awareness of new issues was absent until 1959."

In total, *1600 Pennsylvania Avenue* is a well-written, thoughtful survey, vigorous in its evaluations. Much of what it has to say on Hoover and Roosevelt is relatively familiar; its treatment of Truman and Eisenhower is especially fresh and useful.

Harvard University

FRANK FREIDEL

ARE WE GOOD NEIGHBORS? THREE DECADES OF INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1930-1960. By *Donald Marquand Dozer*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 456. \$8.00.)

PROFESSOR Dozer has combined his training as a historian with his experience of more than a decade as a Latin American specialist in the State Department and has produced a book of value to both the historian and the enlightened layman interested in inter-American relations. It deals with the growth of harmonious relations between the United States and Latin America during the period of the Good Neighbor policy and wartime solidarity, and with the subsequent deteriora-

tion of these relations in the postwar era. The success or failure of United States policy is judged by the reactions of Latin Americans.

According to the author, "the essence of the Good Neighbor Policy . . . was the non-intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of the Latin American states," a policy that "repudiated the guardian-ward relationship and assumed that each nation of the hemisphere would play a responsible, mature role in the inter-American community." This essentially negative "live and let live" policy was expanded during the war years into a positive "Good Partner" policy "which depended in part upon the economic power of the United States applied either in the form of aid or in the form of sanctions." By such wielding of the power of the United States to achieve its wartime objectives, "the essential non-intervention element of the Good Neighbor Policy became weakened" and "in the end it was the preponderating power of the United States, exerted on behalf of a mighty war effort, which caused the disintegration of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy," while the need for cooperation against a common enemy disappeared with the end of the war. Relations further deteriorated in the postwar era, for the United States shifted its attention to other areas of the world and failed to meet Latin American expectations of economic aid at a time when need for such aid was most keenly felt by governments that were under mounting pressure to develop their economies and to solve their social problems in order to satisfy the demands of their underprivileged populations.

The above is, of course, an oversimplification of the theme around which Dozer weaves in a most skillful manner the complex story of inter-American relations since 1930. But Dozer's most original and notable contribution is his detailed analysis of the attitudes of the peoples of Latin America toward the people and policies of the United States, particularly during the 1940's. His analysis, based upon hundreds of newspaper and periodical articles representing all Latin American nations and on State Department reports, serves to illustrate sharply the breadth and intensity of reaction in Latin America to each facet of United States policy. At the same time he brings into clear focus the image held by Latin Americans of the United States and its people. Because Dozer has intended his study to serve for an understanding of present problems, he concludes by presenting a group of suggestions which are worth consideration and which in essence constitute a revitalized Good Neighbor policy.

Dozer has unquestionably achieved his aim of writing a book which would "contribute to a better understanding between the two Americas." His aim would be advanced still further were historians of equal ability and objectivity, living and writing in the nations of Latin America, to follow his example and answer for their own nations the question, "Are We Good Neighbors?"

University of California, Los Angeles

ROBERT N. BURR

JOSEPHUS DANIELS IN MEXICO. By *E. David Cronon*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 369. \$6.00.)

CRONON has written a first-rate study of the service of Josephus Daniels as United States ambassador to Mexico, 1933-1941. Daniels went to Mexico with a profound sympathy for Mexican efforts at social reform and a determination to apply a humanitarian version of the Good Neighbor policy. Despite his inability to speak Spanish, his benign and winning personality soon made him the most popular American ambassador ever to serve in Mexico. A major thesis of this book is that Daniels was usually in conflict with those who were concerned with Mexican policy in the Department of State. Daniels regarded himself as President Roosevelt's personal emissary who was to overlook the little things disturbing to good neighborliness. In contrast, the Department adopted a relatively narrow approach based upon a lack of understanding of conditions in Mexico. The ambassador consistently upheld nonintervention, while the Department sought, by applying pressure, to turn Mexican internal policy from further seizures of American property. Both agreed that Mexico must pay for the expropriated property, although Daniels often disagreed with the Department over what constituted a fair settlement.

Much of Daniels' time in Mexico was occupied with agrarian claims, claims for American property damaged during the Revolution, and the expropriation of the oil industry. In the course of these negotiations, he urged caution and understanding as prerequisites for reasonable settlement. He did not hesitate to pursue an independent course of action when conditions called for it. In March 1938, following the oil expropriation, Secretary Hull cabled a strongly worded note that might well have led to a break in relations and called the ambassador home for consultation. Daniels sabotaged the Department's policy by telling the Mexicans that the note was only an unofficial expression of American views and by delaying his return to the United States. Settlement of the oil controversy was in the end based upon Daniels' position that the oil companies should expect to recover only the value of their investments, not the value of the oil in the ground. Daniels, of course, made errors, among them his praise of a Calles' statement on revolutionary education which, unknown to him, had been made in an anti-Catholic context. The resulting attacks from American Catholics were so numerous that Democratic party leaders concluded he would be a liability if he came home to campaign in 1936.

I suspect the portrayal of the conflict between Daniels and the Department is overdrawn because of incomplete evidence for the Department's position. An examination of Cronon's careful footnoting reveals that he used relatively few Department of State unpublished documents, presumably because the files for the Daniels' period were open only to a very limited degree. The essentials of the story are here, however, and are well told. One must agree with the author that Daniels was an outstanding ambassador who contributed very substantially to improved Mexican-United States relations.

University of Michigan

DAVID D. BURKS

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND WENDELL WILLKIE. By *Donald Bruce Johnson*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 354. \$5.50.)

For some Republicans Wendell Willkie was a leader sent to deliver their party from the political dilemma to which Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal had apparently consigned it. For others he was a scourge who threatened to destroy whatever intellectual uniqueness the party had. That Willkie was a strange phenomenon in American politics no one would deny. A man who openly adhered to the Democratic party as late as 1938, he suddenly emerged from a business career to capture the Republican convention from the politicians in 1940, battled FDR's third term candidacy as vigorously and effectively as any conceivable Republican candidate might have done, and then as quickly, by accepting Roosevelt's foreign policies, read himself out of the Republican party.

Professor Johnson analyzes this strange episode in Republican history in terms generally known or suspected, but with details that are exciting and new. He concludes that Willkie's rise to prominence was less the result of accident than of an expensive public relations campaign. At the forefront of Willkie's move to capture the Republican party were men of wealth who had access to most of the nation's important advertising agencies. Fred Smith of Selva and Smith reportedly commented after the nomination, "It should never be forgotten that the 'Willkie boom' was one of the best engineered jobs in history." As a political leader, Willkie was the creation of vast sums of money freely spent, a vacuum in Republican leadership, and a personality that could be projected quickly to millions of Americans.

Willkie was never a politician in the true sense. He cared nothing for party organization. He was a vigorous man who represented the moderate ideas of a shrewd and realistic businessman; this was enough to make him anti-Roosevelt and quite acceptable to many middle-of-the-road Republicans. But Willkie was willing to make his bargains with both the New Deal and the new pressures against isolationism emanating from Nazi aggression in Europe. Unless it accepted the need for involvement abroad, Willkie charged, the Republican party would be totally rejected by the American people. Midwestern Republicans, led by the *Chicago Tribune*, fought Willkie every step of the way and managed to destroy what remained of his influence in the party by 1944. But in fighting Republican isolationism after his defeat in November 1940, he helped to create some sense of unity in the nation during the months that preceded Pearl Harbor.

This volume contains no special pleading for Willkie. Indeed, the author makes it clear that Willkie's own actions made it impossible for the bulk of Republican leaders to accept him. Because he characterized the Republican problem between 1936 and 1944, Willkie's significance resides chiefly in his lack of success. In his failure one discovers the true nature of the Republican organization and its leadership. In a final chapter Johnson finds some doubtful vindication of Willkie's views in the modern Republicanism of the Eisenhower years. This volume has been constructed with care from a thorough examination of contemporary newspapers

and journals, from interviews, and from correspondence with members of Willkie's entourage. It is doubtful if future research will challenge the author's judgments perceptibly.

University of Illinois

NORMAN A. GRAEBNER

FELIX FRANKFURTER: SCHOLAR ON THE BENCH. By *Helen Shirley Thomas*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 381. \$6.50.)

UNDERSTANDING a Justice of the Supreme Court who is also a great legal scholar is no simple task. Oliver Wendell Holmes was often perturbed by the popular assumption that his so-called liberal opinions reflected an alignment with labor or sympathy for the underdog. He felt that misconception reflected the flabbiness of ignorance. Similarly, Justice Felix Frankfurter must often be troubled by former friends who now shake their heads and bemoan his alleged "betrayal" of the liberal cause.

Zealots who expected the scholarly Harvard Law School professor and former adviser to President Franklin D. Roosevelt to perform on the bench as a loyal New Dealer will have little patience with Helen Shirley Thomas' thoughtful analysis of the Frankfurter record. Her book will, however, be welcomed by many others who, without a detailed knowledge of his work, regard the controversial senior member of the Court as an enigma. For Miss Thomas, now a member of the political science department of Goucher College, has put aside the "isms" and the causes and examined the performance of Frankfurter as a judge whose first loyalty is to the judicial concept itself.

The book is neither biography nor apologia. It is, instead, a perceptive study of a "Scholar on the Bench" written with a keen appreciation of the qualities that characterize a judicial mind. Miss Thomas does not picture Frankfurter as an inspired jurist or oracle who always comes up with the right answer, but as a man of vast learning and experience who is willing to be guided by facts and who draws his conclusions from the whole body of the law rather than a few favored phrases or concepts.

Frankfurter's clash with the activists is discussed without passion but with a proper regard for judicial tradition and the American constitutional system. Miss Thomas finds little sympathy for the contention of Justices Black and Douglas that freedom of speech, press, and religion "occupies a preferred position in our written Constitution" because this freedom is granted in absolute terms. Her leanings are toward the Frankfurter thesis that "wise accommodation between liberty and order always has been, and ever will be, indispensable for a democratic society."

The book is a selective commentary on the constitutional law laid down by the Supreme Court during the last two decades in many important fields. Though the author is primarily concerned with Frankfurter's own opinions, she has viewed his work as part of an institutional product. Her book is especially helpful in under-

standing what the Court has done (and why) in regard to the relations between the states and the nation and between the Court itself and Congress. From the beginning of the third chapter to the end the reader is constantly immersed in the law. Though the style is sometimes wearying, Miss Thomas has produced a penetrating analysis of one of this century's ablest legal minds. Until her book was completed, she had not seen Frankfurter in person, but she has faithfully portrayed the judicial atmosphere in which he moves and to which he has made such a significant contribution.

Washington, D. C.

MERLO J. PUSEY

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD. CANADA: A MODERN HISTORY, by *J. Bartlet Brebner* with a final chapter by *Donald C. Masters*. Edited by *Allan Nevins* and *Howard M. Ehrmann*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1960. Pp. xvii, 553, xviii. \$10.00.)

REVIEWING "Bart" Brebner's last book is a difficult task since I knew Brebner as a fellow student and a fellow scholar. Now that he is gone, the Latin saying keeps coming to mind, "de mortuis . . ."! Thus it is hard to be objective. Brebner was one of the principal architects of *The Relations of Canada and the United States*, a series that remains a landmark in Canadian historiography. His distinguished *North Atlantic Triangle* summarized and synthesized the series. The present work necessarily covers much of the same ground, and in somewhat the same manner, but it naturally emphasizes the Canadian side of the story. It is still perhaps rather more a history of "the North Atlantic Triangle" than it is of modern Canada.

And that leads to my explanation of why this review is hard to write: in all sincerity, I do not think that this is a good book. *North Atlantic Triangle* had an original point of view and expressed it freshly. The present work does not have an easily detected viewpoint, and the writing seems rather flat, as if the author were bored with his own material. This seems a logical result of Brebner's career. When he emigrated from Canada to the United States, he remained for years an exile. His heart remained north of the border, and his heart informed his books. Gradually he became absorbed in his American life. His *Triangle* represented one phase of the absorption. Like the immigrant from every other country, he was trying to pull his motherland and the country of his adoption together, to close that unbridgeable gap between allegiances. Here he and Shotwell met on common ground, both were still partial exiles. Hence the series *The Relations of Canada and the United States*. In the years after the appearance of *The Triangle*, Canada receded. *The Explorers of North America* was continental in design. Then came the shift, contributed to, I suppose, by the realization that Canadian history was not very "saleable" in the United States, to English history written from an American standpoint. It seems to me that this last book was an afterthought. I could make many reflections on it but a few must suffice. The main difficulty is that if it is

written for the nonacademic American reading public, it goes into too much detail and also not enough. It does not afford an ordered view of the sweep of Canadian development. There is too much reference backward and forward, as if the reader knew the story well and was only reading for the comments. Beyond that, it does not seem to meet the acid test for one-volume comprehensive histories which are not monographs, since an easily comprehensible story does not emerge. The book's somewhat deprecatory tone arises from the attempt of a former Canadian to write for American readers. This may puzzle the reader, who might wonder what this rather strange phantom on his northern border is and why one should write about it.

I have little criticism of the detail of the book. It has much interesting material, some of it new; but I cannot feel that it hits the inner ring of the target at which it was aimed. Professor Masters' last chapter, however, competently brings the story down to the present.

Queen's University

A. R. M. LOWER

THE IDEA OF CONTINENTAL UNION: AGITATION FOR THE ANNEXATION OF CANADA TO THE UNITED STATES, 1849-1893. By *Donald F. Warner*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press for the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. 1960. Pp. ix, 276. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Warner's book, which won the first annual American history award of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, is a competent, straightforward, well-written account of what the author considers to be the three main periods of agitation in Canada for union with the United States: the late 1840's and early 1850's, after the Civil War to the Treaty of Washington, and the 1880's and early 1890's. The book's main contribution is its account of the last two periods, the material for which, unlike that for the first period, comes from original sources, particularly Canadian.

Much information is given about the aspirations of Canadians to cast in their lot with their neighbor, whether by commercial union, unrestricted reciprocity, or political union, but very little appears about similar aspirations in the United States. Warner explains, in part, that Canadians were far more interested in union than Americans, which is probably true for the periods under consideration, and that the American moves for union are rather well known, which is debatable. The American moves may have been, prior to Warner's study, better known than the Canadian, but they deserve more attention than they have received. In the United States, as in Canada, the idea of continental union has been persistent, and the American gaze has not been directed exclusively to that beckoning frontier in the golden west. More attention to the annexation movement south of the international boundary would have increased the value of Warner's interesting story.

Warner feels that annexationism in Canada was basically the result of economic causes. When economic conditions were bad in the Dominion, sentiment for union with the flourishing Republic leapt upward, but when conditions improved, the

sentiment dwindled. In his concluding chapter Warner briefly mentions other elements in a highly complicated picture. He would have done well to lay greater emphasis on some of them. Of profound significance, for example, was the respect felt in Canada for British culture and institutions and the distaste for many aspects of the American way of life during the chaotic Gilded Age. Canadian publicists often congratulated themselves that the Dominion did not stoop to the American divorce rate, crime record, judicial system, handling of the race problem, corruption. If the state of affairs regarding such matters had been reversed as between Great Britain and the United States, who can say that the Dominion would not have joined the Republic, Canadian prosperity notwithstanding? And what of the effect of the contemporary Anglo-American-Canadian altercation? Almost nothing is said about this. During the climax of the move in Canada for continental union, from 1884 to 1893, Washington dismissed the British minister, Lord Sackville, because of party politics, engaged in angry disputes with Canada about fishing rights and rejected a fair treaty, again because of party politics, and arrested Canadian sealers on the high seas and confiscated their vessels. It is hard to believe that these incidents did not have an important effect in stilling the Canadian annexationists, even as important, perhaps, as the panic of 1893.

Claremont Graduate School

CHARLES S. CAMPBELL, JR.

HISTORIA DIPLOMÁTICA DE LA REVOLUCIÓN MEXICANA (1912-1917). In two volumes. By *Isidro Fabela*. [Vida y pensamiento de México.] (México, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1958; 1959. Pp. xv, 390; 438.)

ISIDRO Fabela has enjoyed a long and fruitful career as a writer, jurisconsultant, and diplomat. The flood of words from his pen in recent years has marked him as a thoughtful and skillful writer, but one whose impassioned tone comes close to categorizing him as a professional anti-American. During Carranza's Constitutionalist movement he was, for a time, in charge of the Foreign Office, and he has remained a faithful *carrancista*. He was a participant and eyewitness to many events described in this two-volume diplomatic history of the Mexican Revolution.

The work at hand is divided into two parts which are differentiated not only by subject matter, but also by the quality of the sources and the value of the author's contribution. The initial section treats in a traditional manner the final days of the Madero administration and the responsibility of Ambassador Wilson in its downfall. This section is based largely on standard sources in Spanish. Citations of English-language sources are confined to works that have appeared in translation or to excerpts appearing in Spanish texts.

The second section is a different story. Skillfully employing originals and copies of documents preserved in his rich, private archive, Fabela examines the principal diplomatic episodes arising during the Constitutionalist movement against Huerta until the recognition of Carranza's government by the major powers. Discussed in detail are the cases of Benton and Bauch, the Veracruz episode, the ABC medi-

ation and the conferences of Niagara Falls, the assassinations of Santa Isabel and Villa's attack on Columbus, the punitive expedition, and the New London conferences. The second volume concludes with a brief discussion of Mexican neutrality during World War I, without reference to the famed Zimmerman "note" or to the alleged pro-German sentiment of the Carranza regime. Domestic developments are treated incidentally and strictly from the *carrancista* viewpoint.

Fabela argues cogently and offers convincing evidence that Carranza's foreign policy was logical and consistent and that the essentials of the so-called Carranza Doctrine were enunciated long before the position was formally defined and promulgated. Equating Carranza's accomplishments with those of the Mexican Revolution, Fabela asserts that Carranza "made us respectable before ourselves and before the entire world."

The account is largely chronological, except for occasional digressive discussions which run the gamut from thoughtful analyses to polemical harangues. Fabela finds himself caught on the horns of a common dilemma. While inveighing against anything that smacks of intervention, he complains bitterly of the failure of the Taft and Wilson administrations to provide public support for Carranza. Uncritical acceptance of partisan writings leads the author to repeat three exaggerated estimates of American losses during the invasion of Veracruz.

Despite these shortcomings, Fabela's volumes represent an important source for scholars of this period of Mexico's foreign policy both because of the author's participation in the negotiations and because of the wealth of documentary material made available. Since Fabela has had the generous foresight to will his lovely colonial home, the "Casa de Risco" in San Angel, together with his library and historical archive to the Mexican government, scholars may look forward to the continued availability of the valuable collection of materials on which the present volumes are based.

University of Nebraska

STANLEY ROBERT ROSS

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION, 1914-1915: THE CONVENTION OF AGUASCALIENTES. By *Robert E. Quirk*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1960. Pp. 325. \$6.75.)

STUDENTS of the Mexican Revolution will welcome this detailed study of the years 1914-1915. Unfortunately it covers such a short span in the critical decade following 1910 that the justification for its publication may be questioned. The introductory chapter scarcely orients the reader, and five more critical years were to follow before the Revolution could be called complete.

The volume focuses on the Constitutionalist succession and the government in Mexico City. The story itself revolves around Francisco Villa, the Zapata brothers, and Eulalio Gutiérrez, Constitutionalist general and provisional president. The legal maneuverings of the central government (the author's careful work here will contain surprises for many students of the period) and the military ac-

tivities of Villa and the Zapatas receive full attention. In order to follow the military activities, however, a map is badly needed for the end papers are wholly inadequate for the purpose.

Strangely, little attention is paid to Venustiano Carranza, who was to be the ultimate, successful contender for power. The power of the First Chief was growing, but we are given scant understanding of how or why this was happening. A comparison with the partisan account of Isidro Fabela, *Historia diplomática de la Revolución, I, 1912-1917* (1958) indicates that the Carranza story as here related is quite incomplete.

The author's style is interesting. He uses unusual words and makes studied efforts to add color to his narrative. This is good, but the tendency to interpret events that the reader suspects were really opportunistic raids as grand strategy detracts from major activities when they do occur. Descriptions of personalities are frequently apt and effective. Carranza is characterized as a man who "had the spirit of an overloaded burro rebelling at the goad." Woodrow Wilson would have appreciated this. Efforts to cajole reader attention unfortunately lead the author into occasional difficulties. The phrase "the continued traitorous conduct of the provisional president" may be compared with "he had served his country with honor, if not with distinction." "Continued traitorous conduct" or "honor"? More experience with critical reviewers will possibly cause the writer to restrain his picturesque phrases to descriptions of events instead of employing them in editorial judgments which may be challenged when compared.

A note on the dust jacket informs us that the author is working on a study of the United States occupation of Veracruz. This will be the more welcome if the author uses his extensive knowledge and continues the whole story down to 1920. He could do much to unravel that tangle of politics, personalities, and international maneuverings that took place in Mexico during World War I. At the same time he could rescue Carranza from that limbo of neglected souls. The scope of the larger period would probably reduce the tendency to overdramatize the trivial at the expense of the major events then transpiring.

In short this work of an able scholar is not quite as closely worked or as complete as this reviewer would like.

Columbia, South Carolina

W. H. CALLCOTT

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

BOOKS

General

TRUTH AND OPINION: HISTORICAL ESSAYS. By C. V. Wedgwood. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1960. Pp. 254. \$4.50.) Veronica Wedgwood can write. In the thirteen beautiful essays reprinted in this volume she discusses the nature of historical study and writes about her England of the Civil War. History, she delightfully says, "is an art like all the other sciences." The historian's function "is not to judge and prophesy and create systems, but within the limits allowed to him, to illuminate the human soul." Her "Scots and English, 1603-1640," is a magnificent example of the historian's making the best of two worlds, art and science. This is a volume to have in one's own library and to read and read again on winter days or on any day that the drudgery of research seems dreary.
Washington, D. C. BCS

DER HISTORIKER UND DIE GESCHICHTE: AUSGEWÄHLTE AUFSÄTZE UND VORTRÄGE. By Leonhard von Muralt. (Zurich: Verlag Berichthaus. 1960. Pp. xvi, 352.) Seven double-columned pages of names of predominantly Swiss and German friends, students, colleagues, seminars, and archives fill this *Festgabe* presented to Professor von Muralt on his sixtieth birthday. The publication includes the Zurich historian's essays that appeared between 1933 and 1959. In spite of the title, historiography occupies a small portion of the book. Here the scholar's "Swissdom" is noticeable, but does not intrude or distract. The section on Swiss history reflects his preoccupation with Protestantism, more especially Zwingliana—witness his quarter-century coeditorship of the *Corpus Reformatorum*. The last section of the book roams all over Europe. French and Prussian events and personalities dominate the studies, with Bismarck's personality and attitudes receiving most of the attention, except for Zwingli and Pestalozzi, of course. Von Muralt's historical interests are catholic, for example, the Renaissance and Reformation, Calvin, Frederick the Great, Ranke. Whether he discusses Britain's struggle for the balance of power, the significance of the independent small state, where democracy as the true and genuine state form is possible, Palmerston's bon mot concerning the complexity of the Schleswig-Holstein question, the uncertainty inherent in American quadrennial elections, the causes of the Franco-Prussian War, excesses in national expansion, or Bismarck as "the honest broker" effecting a balance of power by protecting and simultaneously playing off against each other Russia, Austria, and France, Von Muralt starts with a stereotyped presentation of facts, but always finishes with an atypical, thought-provoking observation or conclusion. Such meaningful historiography makes it possible for the nonspecialist to read this historian's section on Swiss history. It is not cavalierly weighted down with esoteric but exclusively local history, since the author defines history as being "bigger than ourselves . . . and not mere everyday" occurrence.
University of Houston LOUIS KESTENBERG

A HISTORY OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY. By *Friedrich Klemm*. Translated by *Dorothea Waley Singer*. (2d ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1959. Pp. 401. \$6.50.) The author, librarian of the Deutsches Museum in Munich, bases his book upon a series of lectures and exemplifies the argument by extensive selections from the literature of technology. Indeed, so much of the exposition is carried by that device that the volume becomes at once an essay and a source book. The title is more accurate and more modest in the original edition (1954), *Technik: Eine Geschichte ihrer Probleme*. Not all its problems are explored, however, since Klemm is addressing a popular audience in the hope of showing how the culture of an epoch influences its technology, and vice versa. His is a very German conception of culture. Each epoch is distinguished by some overriding quality in its civilization: contempt for praxis in Greek rationality; Christian affirmation of nature and work in the Middle Ages; active life and engineering in the Renaissance; dynamism in the time of the Baroque; empiricism in the Age of Reason; the thrust of the middle class in the early days of factories; the Americanization of a world in which technology is power. Those are the seven topics that Klemm develops in examples, and he does so with erudition and taste. There is nothing novel in this book. It is not, however, merely another survey of technology. It is a critical selection from the long record of interplay between culture and technique, and the general historian may well find it very useful, either as collateral reading for his students, or perhaps to stimulate his own ideas.

Princeton University

CHARLES C. GILLISPIE

GESCHICHTSPHILOSOPHIE UND WELTBÜRGERKRIEG: DEUTUNGEN DER GESCHICHTE VON DER FRANZÖSISCHEN REVOLUTION BIS ZUM OST-WEST-KONFLIKT. By *Hanno Kesting*. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag. 1959. Pp. xxiv, 328. DM 16.50.) In this challenging historical essay the author, a sociologist, sees in the history of the past two centuries a period of continuous civil war. When England was finally able after 1763 to monopolize the exploitation of colonial areas of the world, continental Europe was left with nothing but itself to exploit. Unable to seize the wealth of other peoples, Europeans began expropriating one another's. At first the French bourgeoisie grabbed the property of the clergy and of the emigrant nobles, an example rising middle classes in other European countries followed as best they could for a half century and more. With the appearance of a proletariat, bourgeois property was itself threatened. The totality of turmoil amounted to permanent revolution or civil war in Europe. With the emergence of the United States out of centurylong isolation and the success of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, what had been a European civil war became world wide (*Weltbürgerkrieg*). Throughout the long period of civil strife both sides justified their demands and aspirations and sought support for themselves by appeals to their respective philosophies of history. Actually both had the same *Geschichtsphilosophie*. It was but a version of the Christian theory of history in which, due to the secularizing influence of the Enlightenment, providence appeared as progress and heaven as utopia or the coming revolution. Kesting's discussion of the utilization of this philosophy of history by various belligerents in the continuing civil war—by Hegel, St-Simon, Marx, Spengler, Mahan, Dewey, Lenin, Stalin, Roosevelt, Jaspers, Toynbee, and a host of others—is always exciting and sometimes brilliant.

University of Oregon

LLOYD SORENSON

THE CLASSICAL LIBERALISM, MARXISM, AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Overton H. Taylor*. [Lectures delivered at the Thomas Jefferson Center for Studies in Political Economy, University of Virginia.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard

University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 122. \$3.50.) It would undoubtedly be well if every scholar received an invitation to put a solid block of his special subject into four public lectures. The compliment imposes the searing task of setting forth the essential material stripped of favorite illustrations and of painfully sacrificed shades of meaning. It equally challenges the author to match the economy of his argument with an economy of phraseology which makes every word a shining vehicle of his thought. Taylor undertook such an adventure at the University of Virginia in the autumn of 1958, and this volume brings his discourses to wider attention. The author has a clear sense of the organic relation of history to the present, and he reveals a perceptive knowledge of the past when he boldly and sympathetically traces in his first lecture the development of "classical liberalism" from Greek beginnings through Thomas Aquinas and John Locke to Adam Smith. Likewise in his treatment of Marx and the Marxist apostles in two lectures one finds an understanding synopsis written with a fair-mindedness that only accentuates his condemnation. Taylor's repudiation of Marxism and all its works rests on an ethical judgment; he wants morality to be ever present in the social process rather than postponed to some utopian epoch in an uncertain future. In his fourth lecture Taylor moves into the contemporary American arena. His concern is the restoration of the rational values discussed in his opening address and a return to "the still essentially true and wise principles of classical liberalism." To that end he makes a declaration of faith and offers a statement of general principles for a reversal of the current trend of state intervention in economic enterprise. Here are perhaps matters that disputatious economists will wish to take over from the moralist and the historian. In spite of their insight and sincerity, these lectures suffer a heavy limitation. A forceful oral presentation of the text might give it life, but I was forced to struggle in order to save ideas from being crushed under an avalanche of words. I submit one sentence representative of the style: "What we need and lack is a real, rational revision and new, modern development of the old, politico-economic, liberal philosophy—a modern, clear and consistent and valid system of both economic and ethical, fundamental, general principles, inspired by the old and authentic liberal, libertarian spirit but applying that with a full, realistic grasp of all the relevant, present-day conditions and problems and with full use of all relevant, available, modern knowledge." To write thus is to impair a scholar's effectiveness and to embarrass the republic of letters.

Stanford University

DAVID HARRIS

DIE AFRIKANER EN SY GESKIEDENIS. By F. A. Van Jaarsveld. (Johannesburg: Nasionale Boekhandel Bpk. 1959. Pp. 123.) This slim volume of two essays, both appearing previously in periodicals, with the latter giving its title to the entire book, reveals the dilemma of modern Afrikaner historiography (and also the dilemma of much else in South Africa). The author regards history as a closed system of totality from ultimate beginning to instant present so that any historical work, to be valid, must have a provable relationship to that totality. Thus he sharply criticizes the tendency of many current Afrikaner historians to "project back" a feeling of Afrikanerism to times when it simply did not exist. He also sternly rebukes those of his Afrikaner co-workers whose republicanism and zeal for party (obviously Nationalist) blind them to British values and ideals and to world factors affecting South African history. All this is important to the writer because of his warning that a people's historical image of itself determines its relations with other people. This warning is particularly apt in the contemporary South African scene. But the dilemma, revealed by the second essay, demonstrates that at every stage of its growth Afrikaner historical writing was a phase of the most recent aspect of an Afrikaner nationalism generated by conflict with the British. The author, however, takes the almost heretical position

that the Great Trek was not a manifestation of this nationalism, which, instead, was evident only after the Conventions of 1852 and 1854, and more particularly, the Battle of Boomplaats. Afrikanerism, however, remained particularistic, as did the histories until the strong emotions engendered by the annexation of the Transvaal and the "Eerste Vryheidsoorlog." These emotions produced the first South African history in Afrikaans, significantly by Cape Colony Afrikaners, and a self-drawn historical image of Afrikaners as a "folk apart," possessing a nationalism transcending formal political borders. Upon these twin views professional Afrikaner historians would begin to draw after the "Tweede Vryheidsoorlog." The author demands "truth and impartiality" for a historiography which he shows rests ultimately upon Afrikaner-British hostility. The only solution may be "an impartial history of the civil war written from a southern point of view."

University of Southern California

COLIN RHYS LOVELL

THE POWER OF SMALL STATES: DIPLOMACY IN WORLD WAR II. By *Annette Baker Fox*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 211. \$5.50.) Professor Fox's work qualifies the statement that "the day of the small power is over." It shows circumstances under which such powers may preserve their existence between superior rivals. Their survival may take various forms: the successful nonbelligerent neutrality of Turkey, Sweden, and Spain; Finland's fighting neutrality, effective as long as she is supported by a great power; and Norway's unsuccessful neutrality which stops short of absolute disaster only when the invader is defeated on other fronts. The first three neutrals gained their objective during World War II because none of the belligerents attempted to draw them into the struggle. The Finns were temporarily successful, first because Russia underrated their strength, then because of German aid. The Norwegians failed because Germany and Britain had designs on their virtue. Certainly small states in general, and the author's sample group in particular, were a quantity in international affairs. But were they powers? Turkey was helpless between Germany and Russia in the Balkans. The author concludes that it was insignificance which saved Finland. Norway could not defend her interests against more powerful belligerents. In the case of Sweden only "the balance of interests among the great" accounted for the successful maintenance of neutrality. The same held for Spain. Small states exercise very little effective pressure individually. One can, however, agree with Professor Fox that their existence as a group adds to the delicacy of international balance and greatly complicates the task of high-level diplomacy. Apart from this predictable conclusion, she provides five admirably concise chapters on the tribulations of five European neutrals during World War II. They make her volume valuable supplementary reading for all students of recent European history.

Tulane University

HANS A. SCHMITT

Ancient and Medieval

MYTH AND SYMBOL IN ANCIENT EGYPT. By *R. T. Rundle Clark*. (New York: Grove Press. 1960. Pp. 292. \$5.00.) This book attempts, chiefly by use of the Pyramid texts and Coffin texts, to discover the nature of Egyptian religion from 2700 to 1700 B.C. Clark does not try to trace the origins of deities and myths concerning them, but concentrates on what he calls the "creative and classical phases of Egyptian history." This approach to the subject is new, so far as I know, and involves proceeding from the major cult centers of early Egypt to a consideration of the theology of some of the most important divinities associated with these centers. Some of the chief myths dealing

with Osiris, Rê, Seth, and Horus are presented, and considerable attention is devoted to mythological symbols. It is extremely difficult to report on the work's method and procedure. Clark uses the ancient texts constantly and, apparently, in an able manner. In general he tries to get completely away from the presuppositions and forms of Greek mythology and sees the Egyptian deities as forces of nature presented to us at a time before the myths have become closely integrated stories. The work is speculative throughout and is an attempt at interpretation with which many scholars will disagree. The standard approach to Egyptian religion which was probably best set forth by Adolf Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, took a historical course and sought to trace the presentation of the gods as it was found in successive periods of Egyptian texts and literature. Clark is of a newer school of scholars who seek to reconstruct from the texts, from our knowledge of ritual, and from present psychological theory, the essential nature and "theology" of Egyptian religion. Most of us who are trained in the study of classical, especially Greek, materials, find this approach extremely difficult to follow. Clearly, however, Egyptian religion deserves more sympathetic consideration than it has received from many of those who have regarded it as only dead superstition. This does not mean that many of us will be able to adopt the theories and interpretations presented in this book. A number of the conclusions seem strange and fanciful, and the texts, which are said to "speak for themselves," do not carry the same message to all of us. Yet it is a tremendous work in many ways, and the author has used a new and creative approach which should stimulate research on the subject.

University of Missouri

THOMAS A. BRADY

L'EXPANSION ET LA COLONISATION GRECQUES JUSQU'AUX GUERRES MÉDIQUES. By Jean Bérard. [Collection Historique.] (Paris: Aubier. 1960. Pp. 178.) The reader should be warned that this is an unfinished work. Jean Bérard, who was a professor at the Sorbonne and the author of a significant work, *La colonisation de l'Italie meridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité*, and of numerous articles on ancient Greek and Roman colonization, had intended to write a definitive history of Greek colonization to the time of Alexander the Great. Unfortunately Bérard was accidentally killed in 1957 with the work a little more than three-quarters done. The book was completed as far as the Persian Wars with the help of Mme. Marie-Louise Plourin, Bérard's assistant, and Mrs. Bérard. Even though the editor claims that "tout ce qu'on va lire est de la plume de Jean Bérard," others also have worked over the material. In spite of all the vicissitudes that this book has undergone, it remains a good, fundamental introduction to the history of ancient Greek colonization. Bérard notes three different Greek terms and conceptions of "colony," all of them characteristic of different periods in Greek history: *apoikiai*—colonies politically independent of the mother city, but maintaining cultural and religious ties with the metropolis; *klerouchiai*—those established by the Athenians during the period of the Athenian Empire on land already occupied, but on lots assigned to designated Athenians who were politically dependent on the metropolis; *katoikiai*—Hellenistic foundations, essentially military colonies, utilized to strengthen the authority of the Diadochi in the countries over which they ruled and concurrently to accelerate the process of Hellenization. Bérard insists that colonization can be traced back to the second millennium B.C., but for practical purposes divides the period of Greek colonization into four distinct periods: the end of the Heroic Age to the ninth century, the beginning of the eighth century to the middle of the seventh, the middle of the seventh to the beginning of the sixth, the fifth century to the fourth as far as the conquests of Alexander. All these periods except the last (which Bérard did not live to complete) are meticulously dealt with in a most sensible way. Though some scholars will not agree with Bérard on all points, especially in matters of chronology,

and though many will be disappointed that the Hellenistic period has not been included and that no general conclusions have been reached, this book will remain a highly useful and very satisfactory introduction to ancient Greek colonization.

Colgate University

JOHN E. REXINE

ROMAN OSTIA. By *Russell Meiggs*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xvii, 598, xl plates. \$13.45.) For this book only a brief review is justified here because it is primarily archaeological. Mr. Meiggs clothes in flesh the generalizations of social and economic historians, because the excavation of Ostia has illuminated what the literary sources almost wholly neglect, the activity of a great commercial port. He begins with six chapters on the history of Ostia: its origins and growth during the Republic and early Empire; the construction of artificial harbors at Portus by Claudius and Trajan; the great prosperity and extensive building during the second century; the gradual decline from the Severi to total abandonment in the early Middle Ages; and modern excavation, sporadic from the Renaissance, scientific in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the remaining twelve chapters, he describes in detail the physical, social, economic, and cultural aspects of Ostia: town plan and development, constitution, social classes, buildings, occupations, religion, recreations, the arts, and the cemeteries. More than a hundred pages contain additional notes, appendixes both archaeological and epigraphic, addenda, bibliography, and three indexes of inscriptions, classical authors, and general topics. In the text are thirty-two figures and at the end forty plates, mostly with several illustrations on each. Since these illustrations are largely of details, mention may be made of a more general book appearing contemporaneously: *Ostia* (1959), with an Italian text by Raissa Calza, widow of the major figure in Ostian excavation, and photographs of broader scope by Ernest Nash, director of the Fototeca di Architettura e di Topografia dell'Italia Antica in Rome. Meiggs devoted thirty-five years to the study of Ostia. Few scholars other than those long engaged in the actual excavations know the site so intimately both archaeologically and historically. He also examined the materials, especially sculpture and inscriptions, that spread to museums throughout Europe during the years when Ostia was despoiled by "treasure hunters." From this thorough knowledge, he reconstructs a fascinating and thoroughly documented picture of a busy urbanized port, a picture that may stand in its main lines for other Roman ports. His text, though long and detailed, is eminently readable. He shows soundness of judgment and willingness to recognize the limitations of our knowledge. In laying down the book, one is not tempted to think: "if only he had also dealt with this or that"; one is satisfied that every aspect has been covered. Historians of the Roman Empire will find this a masterly description of its commercial life as manifested at Ostia; social and economic historians will wish to compare this Roman port with those of other times and other countries.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

THE INTELLECTUAL HERITAGE OF THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES: SELECTED ESSAYS. By *M. L. W. Laistner*. Edited by *Chester G. Starr*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1957. Pp. xvii, 285. \$5.00.) This collection of essays by the late Professor Laistner of Cornell, published in his honor in 1957, has too soon become a memorial volume. It is a fitting tribute, republishing representative essays and reviews, with a bibliography of his writings for more than forty years. The collection is mostly concerned with the field of his major work, *Thought and Letters in the Middle Ages, A.D. 500-900*, and illustrates persuasively, in the handling of special problems, the critical method and principles necessary in his judgment for sound medieval intellectual history. Close comparative study of the texts of Biblical commentaries, histories, and other

writings of Bede, Cassiodorus, and less well-known authors establishes their direct and indirect sources and the degree of critical care and originality with which these were used, and makes possible in turn the assessment of the influence of their writings on later authors. The results contribute to the inventory of the intellectual resources of the early Middle Ages: acquaintance with the Church fathers, with the Greek language, and with pagan antiquity, the popularity of particular works and such controversial issues as astrology, the materials of libraries and of schools, and the traditions of Christian doctrine and historiography. Laistner uses this mode of historical criticism with delicacy, modesty, and caution, warning us against easy generalization in intellectual history. In his defense of the eighteenth-century scholar Richard Bentley against the charge of narrow engrossment in the language of the text, we recognize his own apologia: "you cannot interpret an author's thought until you are sure of what he has said." These essays and his broader works show his success in grasping and communicating the spirit as well as the letter, that "ethos" which in his view marks the historian who is more than annalist.

Reed College

R. F. ARRAGON

THE AGE OF ATTLA: FIFTH-CENTURY BYZANTIUM AND THE BARBARIANS. By C. D. Gordon. Foreword by Arthur E. R. Boak. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1960. Pp. xix, 228. \$3.95.) This unusual book is an English translation, in the form of a connective narrative, of the various historical fragments relating to the political history of the Roman Empire in the fifth century. A series of contemporary historians recorded this history, but unfortunately only fragments of their works have survived. These fragments, together with later chronicles whose information about the fifth century goes back ultimately to the same historians, constitute our principal sources. Church historians of the period also help. In arranging these fragments for publication the translator used as his basis the subject matter of each. He was thus able to divide his book into six chapters. The first chapter, however, goes far beyond the subject of its title, "Imperial Government," to include the relations of the Empire with its eastern neighbors, disturbances in the eastern provinces caused by the religious question, and economic aspects of the Empire. In the second chapter are the fragments dealing with the politics of the Empire during the first half of the fifth century, including the advances of the Visigoths and the Vandals, while in the third are those relating to Attila and his Huns. The Vandals' supremacy and the collapse of the Empire in the west make up the fourth chapter. The remaining two chapters deal with the politics of the eastern Empire from 450 to 491, emphasizing the German and Isaurian problems, and with Ostrogothic activities in the Balkan Peninsula following the collapse of Attila's empire and their final establishment in Italy. The book is much broader than its title indicates. It may be described as a political history of the Roman Empire from the beginning of the fifth century to about 491, told in the words of contemporary historians. The translations, judged on the basis of random samplings, including a passage over which the translator differs with J. B. Bury, are accurate, but some of the explanatory notes are characterized by vagueness or inaccuracies. It does not help much, for example, to say that Paphlagonia was located in what is now central Turkey and Selymbria was not a suburb of Constantinople. The bibliography should have included Stein's *Histoire du Bas-empire* and Moravcsik's *Byzantinoturcica*, the former because, along with the work of Bury, it has become standard for the fifth century, the latter because it describes the work of the historians translated and gives all the source references relating to Attila. For the specialist the book has little value, but it offers the general reader an opportunity to refer to the original sources.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

SEIGNEURIE FRANÇAISE ET MANOIR ANGLAIS. By Marc Bloch. Preface by Georges Duby. [Cahiers des *Annales*, Number 16.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1960. Pp. 159. 8 new fr.) It is indeed paradoxical that Marc Bloch who throughout his distinguished career combatted emotionalism in historical thought and research has repeatedly been its victim since his tragic death in 1944. Numerous French medievalists, prompted by loyalty to his memory and admiration for his work, have ransacked his research notes, papers, and lectures and have put all into print. Occasionally the result has been worthwhile, but more often those of the "cult of Marc Bloch" have done a disservice to this superb historian by publishing what he considered incomplete thoughts and research or simple syntheses for university students. Why tarnish in this way Bloch's solid achievement when it is possible to become acquainted with his research and fertile ideas in his books, articles, and scores of contributions to *Les Annales*? This book has been put together from a series of lectures that Bloch delivered in 1936 during his first year as professor of economic history at the Sorbonne. To compare the medieval English manor with the French *seigneurie* for the purpose of understanding the profound contrasts marking modern British and French agriculture was a good idea. And fortunate were the students who heard these lectures and observed Bloch apply the comparative method to medieval agrarian history. But one derives little benefit from reading the lectures. Stylistically they lack the polish characteristic of Bloch's finished work; there are gaps, unfinished sentences and paragraphs, and a predominance of incomplete chapters which fade out with the notation "chapitre inachevé." Although it is a delight to see how Bloch explained the texts and drew intelligible conclusions about the complicated skein of seignorial tenures and the confusing array of peasant social, economic, and legal conditions, this is not a book for specialists because its content was intended for students. Nor is it a book for students because too much is unsaid. The reader who would like to question Bloch on many points, moreover, finds the book tantalizing. Why should Bloch, for example, begin his survey of the French *seigneurie* with the Carolingians but that of the English manor with 1066? Did not Anglo-Saxon England know the seignorial system? It is still to the incomparable *Caractères originaux* and to the studies in *Les Annales* and other journals that both scholar and student must go to learn their medieval agrarian history and to read Bloch at his best.

University of California, Berkeley

BRYCE LYON

SOCIAL LIFE IN EARLY ENGLAND: HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ESSAYS. Edited by Geoffrey Barraclough. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1960. Pp. xi, 264. \$4.50.) In view of the well-known historical work of the editor and of the authors, this reprinted collection of essays published as pamphlets over many years by the Historical Association (England) for the "schools" and the general reader is disappointing. The articles, for most of which the original date is not recorded, have been revised in content and bibliography with unequal care. They also do not equally fit the title. The first and the last, J. N. L. Myres's "Roman Britain" and J. N. L. Baker's "Mediaeval Trade Routes," have admittedly no direct relevance, and others say little of how people lived in medieval society. The most specialized and scholarly essay, Sir Frank Stenton's "Norman London," makes clear with careful documentation the structure and activities of medieval urban society, but the society of rural England does not emerge as distinctly from Miss L. C. Latham's account of the manor. The latter surveys the regional and chronological diversity of economic and legal relations in England during six centuries, and it has been further complicated by revision to modernize the point of view. With careful reading it may be helpful. The wealth of data used by G. G. Coulton in his inconclusive attempt to calculate the relative "psychological" values of medieval and modern prices and wages offers interesting evidence of the social importance of differ-

ent occupations and classes in the Middle Ages. C. J. Ffoulkes on arms and armor and Stenton on the development of the castle give succinct surveys of the instruments of military life and loosely connect the changes with general social changes. This awareness of the factors shaping the physical means of culture is particularly evident in the two longest and, in my opinion, the most interesting surveys: Rose Graham's account of the development of the monastic orders in England with special attention to their building and to the relevant financial resources, and Hamilton Thompson on "The English House" from before the Conquest to the eighteenth century. The text of both these essays, like that on castles, is well illuminated by ground plans. The papers were not, and are not, intended to provide a systematic textbook in medieval English history. They are rather for collateral or specialized reading from historians who have written authoritatively in their various fields, though several of the essays will also be attractive to the general reader who wants to browse in diverse aspects of nonpolitical history.

Reed College

R. F. ARRAGON

EARLY FRANCISCAN GOVERNMENT: ELIAS TO BONAVENTURE. By *Rosalind B. Brooke*. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series, Volume VII.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xv, 313. \$7.50.) Despite the universal popularity of St. Francis of Assisi, objective critical studies of the foundation and early decades of his order have been a serious lacuna in the mass of Franciscana. Since Sabatier and Lempp indicted Brother Elias at the turn of the century as the villainous Judas who betrayed the ideals of the Umbrian reformer, no one has ventured to write a calmly judicious reassessment of the role played by that enigmatic and controversial friar. The truth of an Italian scholar's recent statement that "a definitive biography of Elias can only be written by a foreigner" was fully demonstrated by the studies published in Italy in 1953-1954 on the seven hundredth anniversary of his death, which, incidentally, are not mentioned in this book. It is against this delicate background that Mrs. Brooke (the wife of a professor of medieval history) has made a courageous and eminently successful survey of the complex administrative evolution of the Franciscan order between the years 1209 and 1274. The special object of her analysis centers on the precise contributions of Elias and his successors as ministers general to the constitutions of the order that were approved by the several mid-thirteenth-century general chapters. As this work is the first comprehensive study of that relatively obscure subject, it necessarily involved extensive original research in primary source materials. With the expert guidance of Dom David Knowles and the late Michael Bihl and Livarius Oliger, both O.F.M., the author has thoroughly mastered a little-known but important field. Her critical reevaluation of Elias' personality and policies displays considerable acumen and commendable independence from Sabatier's partisan misjudgments. While the presentation tends at times to seem dry and prolix, nevertheless almost every page discloses significant factual discoveries and clarifications. *Early Franciscan Government* is an indispensable handbook for all students of the thirteenth century, and forms a worthy addition to the valuable contributions of other British *franciscanists*, such as Burkitt, Little, Seton, Douie, and Moorman.

Washington, D. C.

RAPHAEL BROWN

UN GRAND COMMERCE D'IMPORTATION: LES VINS DE FRANCE AUX ANCIENS PAYS-BAS (XIII^e-XVI^e SIÈCLE). By *Jan Craeybeckx*. Preface by *Charles Verlinden*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Ports, Routes, Trafics, Volume IX.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1958. Pp. xxxii, 315.) In 1933 Henri Pirenne, in one of his famous articles, called attention to the French wine trade in the Middle Ages as a neglected but important subject that deserved

systematic exploration. After more than twenty-five years, this suggestion has been carried out by a young Belgian historian trained at Ghent in the Pirenne tradition. His book deals with the wine trade from about 1200 to about 1600. Although the emphasis, as announced in the title, is on the Low Countries as a market for French wine, the author also discusses the English trade with Gascony and refers repeatedly to the competition of Rhenish wine which was regarded as superior to the French rival products. The English consumed mainly Bordeaux, whereas the people of the Low Countries favored the wines of Poitou. Throughout the Middle Ages, the wine trade was relatively more important than it is today, because consumption per capita was well above the present figure, because wine imports were by no means a negligible item in the balance of trade of either Flanders or England, and because the excise tax on wine was an appreciable source of income for many towns. In 1369-1370, for example, this tax yielded more than 50 per cent of the entire revenue of the city of Bruges. Most of the wine trade was in the hands of small merchants whose business methods were rather elementary until well into the fifteenth century. As they left no records, Craeybeckx has done a marvelous job in building a synthesis by piecing together small bits of information gathered here and there in widely scattered sources. It is only after 1500 that concentration took place and that a few large merchants gained control of most of the trade. This development raised an outcry against monopoly and forestalling which, it was claimed, destroyed "the natural liberty" of trade and disturbed existing channels. Apart from trivial mistakes, this book is well done; it adds greatly to our knowledge of the organization of medieval trade.

Boston College

RAYMOND DE ROOVER

HENRY VII IN ITALY: THE CONFLICT OF EMPIRE AND CITY-STATE, 1310-1313. By *William M. Bowsky*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 301. \$5.25.) Professor Bowsky writes of the denouement of the medieval empire in Italy, of Henry VII's energetic effort to unite the turbulent and egoistic cities of northern Italy under an effective government whose ideal would be peace. A prologue briefly describes Italy on the eve of the expedition, the political divisions, the governments and the factions of Guelph and Ghibelline that split Italy. In six well-measured chapters, we follow Henry's path from across the Alps to a Pisan sarcophagus. The story is a complicated one, and Bowsky recounts it in detail, comprehensively surveying the many sources and secondary studies that bear on Henry's career. It is tribute to the author's control over his abundant material and to his sense of style that the narrative never bogs down. There is a sprinkling of errors in the footnotes. The reference to the edition of Henry's constitutions, given as *MGH, Const. IV*, 4, ought more properly be *Const. IV*, 1 and 2. So also, on page 226, note ninety-seven, *Const. IV*, 3, ought properly be *Const. III*. There are slips in citing Latin titles (page 222, note fifty-one, and in the bibliography) and Latin passages (page 218, note ten, page 264, note forty-eight, from among those I was able to check) and occasional misprints. *Angioino*, "Angevin," is misspelled in titles throughout. On the whole, however, the book shows careful preparation. Inevitably, in a book dealing with the whole of Italy at a critical juncture in her history, some readers will question the author's particular emphasis. The work is largely dedicated to factual narrative. This is political and diplomatic history of an almost traditional cast. While Bowsky shows skill in the narrative, the over-all picture of Henry's career does not seem markedly different from previous assessments. Bowsky's analysis of the social background of the Italian political struggles is limited to a warning that the subject is complicated. This is prudent, but not enlightening. The work is based predominantly on published material; the four unpublished manuscripts cited seem to add nothing substantial to the account. Greater utiliza-

tion of archival material would have afforded greater opportunity for original analysis. Bowsky's topic is broad enough and the style readable enough to permit this book to serve as a good introduction to Italian politics at the time of Dante. Scholars, teachers, and students interested in Italian civilization should welcome it.

Bryn Mawr College

DAVID HERLIHY

RÉGESTES DES DÉLIBÉRATIONS DU SÉNAT DE VENISE CONCERNANT LA ROMANIE. Volume II, 1400-1430. By *F. Thiriet*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Documents et recherches sur l'économie des pays byzantins, islamiques et slaves et leurs relations commerciales au Moyen-Âge, Volume II.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1959. Pp. 299. 4,000 fr.) When Thiriet published his first volume (*AHR*, LXIV [Jan. 1959], 425), he planned to complete his calendaring in a second. He found so many more items for the fifteenth century that he has divided them, and a third volume is to appear. The 972 items in Volume I for seventy years and 1248 in Volume II for thirty years reflect the greater amount of business transacted by the Senate and the survival of more documents. The two-page introduction should be supplemented by the excellent one in Volume I.

University of Illinois

MARY LUCILLE SHAY

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF HUMANISTIC SCRIPT. By *B. L. Ullman*. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 1960. Pp. 146, 70 plates. L. 4,000.) Scholars have generally agreed that humanist or roman script was developed about 1400, probably at Florence, and that three humanists, Coluccio Salutati, Poggio Bracciolini, and Niccolò Niccoli, were concerned with its introduction and diffusion. Professor Ullman attributes the invention of the formal or book hand script to Poggio and suggests that Niccoli invented its cursive form. After presenting his evidence, he confidently asserts that "... Niccoli's claim to the throne as far as the invention of formal humanistic script is concerned has been shattered and Poggio remains its undisputed inventor. . . ." This conclusion depends largely on Laurentian Library MS. Strozzi 96. Ullman believes its main hand to be Poggio's and, by attributing the corrections to Salutati, is able to date it to before 1406. For no apparent reason, he chooses 1402-1403, making it the earliest known book in humanist script. In fact, the main hand differs in several respects from that of Poggio's signed manuscripts, and, even if we accept it as his, we still know of only five manuscripts written by Poggio before 1420, as against some eighteen others in humanist script certainly written before then, the earliest in 1405, well before Poggio's earliest dated manuscript of 1408. The case for Poggio as the inventor of the humanist script is not proven. Although Ullman's theories may prove unacceptable, his facts are extremely valuable: annotated lists of manuscripts written and owned by Poggio (some changes from the author's 1955 lists); notes on books probably in Niccoli's hand; new or much enlarged lists of manuscripts written by Florentine copyists like Giovanni Aretino (a discovery of Ullman's who copied seven books in humanist script, 1410-1417), Antonio di Mario, and Gherardo del Ciriagio; and some account of the individual scripts of all these and others. The seventy halftone illustrations are of good though not brilliant quality. The index of manuscripts adds to the value of the book.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

RICHARD VAUGHAN

THE INDIAN SUMMER OF ENGLISH CHIVALRY: STUDIES IN THE DECLINE AND TRANSFORMATION OF CHIVALRIC IDEALISM. By *Arthur B. Ferguson*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1960. Pp. xviii, 242. \$6.00.) Stu-

dents wishing to learn how intellectual history can and should be written are recommended to read this volume carefully. Here they will find an illuminating essay on an interesting cultural lag. The author is "seeking among the sparse and equivocal documents of the period a clue to the chivalric mind in transition," and the conclusions he offers are convincing. Their interest lies less in the general result than in the thoughtful analysis of the attitudes of individual writers and the imaginative insight into the extent to which each of them could be regarded as reflecting some facet of contemporary thinking. Conditions peculiar to England are stressed and elaborated. These help to explain why "the generalizations appropriate to European chivalry do not always serve for England." The concept of courtly love is played down. A close relationship between English chivalry and "a burgeoning sense of patriotism" is described at some length. The necessity for ideals to have some functional link with social realities is emphasized while, at the same time, noting "the curious penchant of the fifteenth century mind to think on two separate levels and to separate the ideal and the actual whenever it seemed a good thing at the time to do so."

Williamstown, Massachusetts

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

DIE LETZTEN JAHRE DES NIKOLAUS VON KUES: BIOGRAPHISCHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN NACH NEUEN QUELLEN. By *Erich Meuthen*. [Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Volume III.] (Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1958. Pp. 345. DM 28.) The very volume of recent scholarship on Nicolaus Cusanus would seem at least partially to vindicate the pronouncement of Leibnitz that he and Valla were the two most powerful spirits of the "late Middle Ages." In addition to the current publication of the *Opera* and *Schriften*, a stream of monographs has swelled the Cusanus bibliography made illustrious already by such names as Ernst Cassirer and Maurice de Gandillac. In Part I of the present study Meuthen presents in minutest detail the biographical facts of Cusanus' last years from his final departure from Brixen for Rome until his death. The account serves as a significant corrective to the excessive attention given to the struggle with Sigismund in the earlier works by Edmond Vansteenbergh (1920) and Henry Bett (1932), the latter unfortunately omitted from Meuthen's bibliography. There emerges from the mosaic of particulars a richer picture of Cusanus' role as a member of the *curia*, his manifold legal activities, intervention in city-state politics, advice on German affairs, and relations with the literary humanists and the Piccolomini circle. His tie to Pius II, in fact, is the real key to his action in the last years. Pius, himself a compromise candidate, reveals a constant readiness to act on the grounds of political expediency, while Cusanus frequently seems quixotic and unrealistic. The embattled bishop is replaced in this volume by the frustrated cardinal who finds his plans for universal reform laughed at in the *curia* and not taken seriously by the pontiff. This was the tragedy of Cusanus' last years and of the following century. Part II contains ninety-four documents, new or not readily accessible, drawn largely from the archives of northern and central Italy. The editing is done with meticulous care, and the appendixes provide additional information on Cusanus' ecclesiastical dependents and his precise itinerary.

Stanford University

LEWIS W. SPITZ

Erratum: In the review of *The Benedictine Idea*, by Hubert van Zeller, appearing on pages 947-948 of the July 1960 issue, the last sentence on page 947 should read: "The period from the late sixth to the early ninth century is seen as one of transition, which was to issue in the two-phase reform movement of St. Benedict of Aniane and of Cluny."

Modern

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

THE DEFEAT OF JOHN HAWKINS: A BIOGRAPHY OF HIS THIRD SLAVING VOYAGE. By *Rayner Unwin*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1960. Pp. 319. \$6.00.) This is a beautifully written and highly readable popular account, based upon authentic sources, of Sir John Hawkins' third voyage, which began at Plymouth in October 1567 and ended in disaster at San Juan de Ulua the following September, with an account of the vicissitudes in Mexican and Spanish prisons and remarkable escapes of the seamen who were left on the beach in Mexico. Mr. Unwin was led to this task by curiosity over the seemingly improbable feat of David Ingram, a sailor from Barking in Essex, and two other members of Hawkins crew who, after the catastrophe at San Juan de Ulua, walked three thousand miles from Mexico to Nova Scotia, where they were picked up by a French fisherman. In his preface he says: "In searching for further information I became absorbed in the intricate chain of circumstance that terminated in Ingram's journey. Apart from the orderly account in Dr. Williamson's biography, no attempt seems to have been made to correlate the plentiful material and present the voyage as a unified and organic whole. This has been my endeavour." The book will give pleasure to many readers, including some already familiar with Hawkins' career, but it will be of little use to the historian. Although it has a brief bibliography, it is without annotation and offers no critical discussion of the varied sources. The scholar will still find James A. Williamson's *Sir John Hawkins: The Time and the Man* (1927) a more satisfactory approach to the voyage. Indeed one wonders why, save for the pleasure of writing and the profit of publishing, Unwin chose to retell this familiar story. But he does it so admirably that one wishes that more American attempts to popularize history for a general audience were as well written as this one. *Boston Athenæum*

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

COMMERCIAL CRISIS AND CHANGE IN ENGLAND, 1600-1642: A STUDY IN THE INSTABILITY OF A MERCANTILE ECONOMY. By *B. E. Supple*. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 296. \$7.50.) This is a freshly studied, well-substantiated, and effectively presented inquiry into the causes of that sequence of hard times studded with crisis that beset English trade and the national economy in the early Stuart period. As a yardstick for measuring fluctuations in trade the author has utilized statistics recording London's export trade in the old draperies which for centuries had enjoyed an enviable primacy in continental markets. Consideration of outport trade is excluded since the outports normally had a small share in marketing the older, heavier, more costly types of English cloth. Political history is understandably omitted except for occasional reference, nor did the author intend to construct a connected, comprehensive survey of English economic history. I am, however, inclined to question certain omissions, as in the chapter on scarcity of coin, the absence of any reference to the Amsterdam money market's attracting coin and bullion from other countries. In the same chapter one might reasonably expect some suggestion of an increased tendency among merchants to hoard their silver after the startling, though brief, seizure of the silver deposited in the mint, the tentative efforts in the direction of arbitrary taxation, and the strong pressures on London merchants to make loans to the crown. Hoarding is not, I grant, susceptible of quantitative proof, but when pressure by the leadership in the House of Commons was really on the city in 1642, there was no lack of funds. Some of the sub-

jects considered, as the Cockayne patent, the depression of the early 1620's, the rise of the new draperies, and the speculations of merchant pamphleteers on the causes of the decline of trade, are familiar to students of this period, but Supple has scrutinized them afresh, brought in new evidence, and given their interpretation sharpened significance. I am inclined to think that the chorus of complaint from merchants about the deterioration of workmanship in clothmaking may be exaggerated, perhaps to justify tightening control over production and vesting export monopolies in regulated companies. There is both Dutch and French testimony to the quality of English cloth and the difficulty of competing with it. And the tare imposed in Holland was less a fine to penalize defects in English textiles than a protectionist measure to safeguard the Dutch textile industry. Part II, describing and analyzing changes in the industrial framework of trade, and Part III, discussing economic thought of the period and its relation to policy, are valuable contributions to the study of these subjects.

Vassar College

VIOLET BARBOUR

THOMAS CROMWELL AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION. By *A. G. Dickens*. [Teach Yourself History.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. 192. \$2.50.) This competent little book is a distinguished and welcome addition to a popular historical series with biographical orientation. Almost sixty years have passed since the publication of Merriman's *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell*; it is certainly time for a new major biography, and the outlines for it are becoming clear. Together with G. R. Elton's definitive studies in Cromwell's administrative reforms, Dickens' compendious reassessment of his importance in ecclesiastical history brings us appreciably nearer to a comprehensive estimate of this pivotal figure. Dickens has not sought to avoid the controversial aspects of his subject, inherited from nineteenth-century theological predispositions. His incorporation of recent special studies in the resale of monastic lands, in administration of monastic pensions, in probate fees and mortuary dues frequently exposes the older view as either insufficiently based or completely nugatory. Even in such recent correctives as Baskerville's study of the dissolution of the monasteries, Dickens has made modifications which strengthen his conclusion that "the story of the dispossessed" can no longer "be made into one of the great tragedies of English history." We may now evaluate the gains as well as the losses. Cromwell's success in reforming ecclesiastical abuses was the product of an essentially secular mind. He had merely brought over his enormous capacity for administrative efficiency to an organization greatly in need of reform. We can see it at work in his enforcement of the injunctions of 1536 and 1538 and in his organization of the parish registers, the basic records of the community of persons who to him were only incidentally souls. In general, the evidence, as Dickens presents it, demonstrates conclusively Cromwell's disposition to regard ecclesiastical institutions as a function of the state, the English Reformation as a necessary adjunct to national policy. On the other hand, Dickens sometimes over-extends the term "Reformation-policy" as if it were synonymous with Cromwell's policy of reform. The Pilgrimage of Grace, as he himself points out, was mainly economic and social, not religious. The bibliographical aids are excellent. It is for this reason more surprising that in citing the general period bibliographies, Dickens chooses to list Godfrey Davies but not Conyers Read.

University of Maryland

W. GORDON ZEEVELD

THE NORRIS EMBASSY TO AURANGZIB (1699-1702). By *Harihar Das*. Con-

densed and rearranged by *S. C. Sarkar*. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1959. Pp. xxxi, 341. Rs. 20.00.) This study of Sir William Norris' embassy to Aurangzib (1699-1702), which has been condensed and rearranged from the original manuscript,

is a work of unquestioned scholarship and a considerable contribution to the study of the European impact on India. In the background of Norris' embassy was the bitter rivalry of two English East India companies, and Norris, who represented the "new" company as well as the British monarch, never really overcame the hostile designs of the rival company. Indeed, the "old" company largely made his mission a failure. As an ambassador, Norris had certain personality deficiencies, but he possessed fortitude and he traversed Mughal India amid Maratha wars and political disintegration in order to have his brilliant but fruitless audience with Aurangzib. Norris deserved to have succeeded. The most vivid parts of the book reveal the bribery, corruption, and political strife simultaneously in three political spheres: the English Parliament, among European East India companies, and within the Mughal court and administration. Despite certain tedious passages, the book is rewarding for this glimpse into the structure of politics in East and West during the fading years of the Mughal Empire.

Bowdoin College

GEORGE D. BEARCE

THE ATTORNEY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By *Robert Robson*. [Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 182. \$4.75.) This brief and useful study is concerned more with social than with legal history. It tells a story that has been told before, but adds to the familiar generalities concerning the attorney's role in eighteenth-century England specific data on the professional activities and earnings of London and provincial lawyers. If one feels some disappointment in Dr. Robson's achievement, it is not in his failure to make thorough and intelligent use of the available records. It is rather in his unwillingness to bring some of that sprightliness to his study which Mr. Christian, some sixty years ago, brought to his *Short History of Solicitors*. Had a lawyer undertaken Robson's mission he would surely have told us more than this study does of the impact of commercial law upon the conventional responsibilities of the common-law lawyers. He would, more particularly, have sought to enlighten us on the profession's effort to make itself effectively responsive to Lord Mansfield's creativity. But if we had been given a legal history of attorneys in the age of Mansfield, we would probably have been denied some of the important materials that Robson has provided us.

Harvard Law School

MARK DEWOLFE HOWE

HANOVER TO WINDSOR. By *Roger Fulford*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1960. Pp. 208. \$5.00.) This volume, the fourth in a series covering the dynasties of British sovereigns, bears a title the explanation of which appears in the preface. Starting with William IV, it attempts to trace the position of the crown and the standing of the monarchy through a century of growing parliamentary power. It emphasizes personal traits and idiosyncrasies of the sovereigns with the idea of adding interest to the account and of examining the impact of personalities on institutions. The book makes little use of new material, but is based especially on *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, Sir Sidney Lee's *King Edward VII*, and the works by John Gore and Harold Nicolson on George V. It contains a good select bibliography. Almost half of the contents deals with Queen Victoria; this constitutes the most interesting portion. The reading is pleasant throughout, but the data sometimes lacks depth to the detriment of the expressed purpose of the volume. The discussion of the clash between the Queen and Palmerston, for instance, contains a properly summarized background. The Conservative party had floundered on protection, and the other party was breaking up into Liberals and Radicals with the consequence that no government was assured a majority stable enough to restrain an independent minister like Palmerston. "The point is important, for the weakness of Parliament gave the Crown its chance." The following

three paragraphs and references to the Queen's letters and Kingsley Martin's book hardly satisfy the reader's curiosity. Likewise, controversial assertions are found here and there. Was the Queen's distrust of Gladstone "political and not personal"? Is it better to say that Edward VII made an "enormous contribution" to the popularity of the monarchy or that he civilized the monarchy? Controversial opinions, a favorable evaluation of the sovereigns, and excellent illustrations may all tend, however, to attract the reading public.

New York University

JOSEPH H. PARK

SIR JAMES LOWTHER AND CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ELECTIONS 1754-1775. By *Brian Bonsall*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1960. Pp. x, 161. \$5.50.) This monograph is an intensive study of Sir James Lowther's attempts to control the ten parliamentary seats in Westmorland and Cumberland from 1754 to 1775. These ten included the four county seats, two seats of the city of Carlisle, and four seats of the boroughs of Cockermouth and Appleby. Like the great boroughmonger of the previous generation, the Duke of Newcastle, Lowther owed his position to the huge fortunes that he inherited from several relatives before he came of age and that he used to further his political ambitions. Bonsall's objective is to trace the fluctuations of Lowther's struggle to control these ten seats in the general elections of 1754, 1761, 1768, and 1774, and in the numerous additional elections made necessary by the manner in which he shifted his "representatives." The narrative's climax is the description of the struggle with an opposition headed by the Duke of Portland and supported by the Earls of Egremont and Carlisle and by many country gentlemen. So effective was this opposition and so great the antagonism aroused by Lowther that he had only four seats after the 1768 general election. Lowther's attempt to weaken the position of the Duke of Portland in Carlisle by applying to the Treasury for grants of the forest of Inglewood and the socage of the manor of Carlisle demonstrates the ruthlessness of the struggle. These lands had not been part of the original grant of land to the Bentincks who had, according to Lowther, taken possession of them illegally. Evidently both sides found the struggle too expensive to continue because by 1774 a compromise was arranged which left Lowther in control of seven of the ten seats. Later he purchased the borough of Haslemere in Surrey, raising to nine the seats he controlled. On the whole Bonsall, a student of the late Sir Lewis Namier, has been successful in attaining his objective. His monograph deepens our knowledge of the parliamentary history of the two English shires. It is to be hoped that other scholars will carry on similar research in the other counties until we have a complete picture of the elections in all the shires and boroughs of England from the general election of 1754 through that of 1784. My only serious criticism is that Sir James remains throughout the narrative a shadowy figure.

Western Reserve University

DONALD GROVE BARNES

THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC. By *Christopher Lloyd*. [British Battles Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. 175. \$4.50.) Christopher Lloyd, assistant professor at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, England, in previous works has been recognized as an authority on British naval history. His *Capture of Quebec* is a new volume in the British Battles Series, which deals with other historic contests such as Waterloo and Trafalgar wherein the triumph of arms was of momentous consequence in the course of later events. Each publication in this series is to explain the origins of the battle and its consequences. Another objective is to use quotable material from the records left by participants. A third objective, somewhat unique in books of this size, is to include thirty to forty illustrations taken from contemporary

diagrams, plans, and paintings. Lloyd's attractive and readable book was written and published according to this formula. Its forty portraits, charts, and plans, reproduced with clarity and beauty from originals owned by such institutions as the British Museum and the McCord Museum of McGill University, are frequently a source for the descriptive sections of the narrative. The story of the battle opens with a short résumé of skirmishes and battles in North America from 1754 to 1758. This is followed by sketches on Canadian defenses, British troops and leaders, and the dramatic arrival of the British vessels loaded with seasick soldiers at the basin of Quebec off the island of Orleans. In later pages the author details the military operations leading to the battle on the Plains of Abraham and the subsequent siege of Quebec. Throughout the book quotations from contemporaries are skillfully blended into the narrative, which is proportioned to give adequate space to naval operations. Although no authorities are cited and the bibliography is limited to a one-page note on sources, in my opinion Lloyd has written an accurate, vivid account of the capture of Quebec based primarily on English sources.

University of California, Santa Barbara

WILBUR R. JACOBS

THE VICE-ADMIRALTY COURTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Carl Ubbelohde*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1960. Pp. ix, 242. \$6.00.) Mr. Ubbelohde has produced a thoroughly researched, well-organized, and lucidly written book on a significant but much misunderstood aspect of colonial history. He begins by sketching the organization, procedure, and work of the eleven vice-admiralty courts in North America prior to 1763. For the most part these courts had existed since the closing decade of the seventeenth century and had gradually become unpopular fixtures of the provincial "constitutions." Fashioned after their counterparts in England, they had no juries and were completely dominated by appointive judges who were nonsalaried but who were paid percentages on the goods they condemned and by fixed fees allowed by colonial statutes. The French and Indian War revealed the weaknesses of both the American revenue collectors and the provincial vice-admiralty courts, and in 1764 the entire colonial revenue structure was reviewed and revised. The jurisdiction of the courts was expanded to include cases involving the new colonial revenue legislation. As part of the program of reorganization, Dr. William Spry was sent to Halifax as "Vice Admiral Over All America." This supercourt did not try many cases, though it provoked much criticism. In 1767 the Halifax supercourt was superseded by four regional courts, located at Halifax, Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston. These new courts were more active and unpopular than the Spry court had been. The vice-admiralty courts were a minor, but persistent, cause of the American Revolution. Colonial leaders constantly questioned their jurisdiction, authority, and constitutionality. The American colonists had four major criticisms of the vice-admiralty courts: the method of paying the judges; the appointment of four regional judges because of their loyalty to the crown during the Stamp Act crisis; the extension of the courts' jurisdiction beyond its traditional limits; the denial of the right of trial by jury. Ubbelohde carefully examines all of these charges and shows that most of them were more fiction than fact. He concludes that the provincial vice-admiralty courts were not the complete evils that the patriot propagandists painted them and that it was the laws they enforced, not the courts themselves, that required revision to silence hostile critics. With the coming of the Revolution the various states established vice-admiralty courts of their own, but these were specifically required to proceed only by jury trial.

University of North Carolina

HUGH T. LEFLER

HARRIET MARTINEAU: A RADICAL VICTORIAN. By R. K. Webb. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 385. \$5.00.) If Florence Nightingale was "the lady with the lamp," Harriet Martineau was the lady with the trumpet. Her famous ear trumpet symbolized her extraordinary and selective receptivity to the radical ideas of her time, while the popular press served her as the instrument for trumpeting them forth to an attentive Victorian world. At one time or another she embraced a great variety of "causes," alienating sooner or later most of her close friends (including her brother James), but never lacking a wide audience. As every successful reformer must, she had an intense devotion to principle. Yet she was misled by her own fierce determination and illustrates in a notable way how an obsession with theories can lead earnest, well-intentioned people astray if not balanced by judgment, moderation, and a sense of human fallibility. She could rationalize anything. For many readers of this volume the chapters on Miss Martineau's struggle to find a safe basis for morals, her visit to America, and her adventures with mesmerism and pseudo science will prove the most interesting. Perhaps without realizing it she lived over again the Calvinist dilemma and she came out with a not dissimilar belief in the freedom of the unfree will. She startled America by her loud championship of Garrison and her scandalous gossip about public men. A fervent disciple of mesmerism, she claimed that it had cured her and her cows of illness, though in the end both she and they died. Professor Webb has produced an immensely instructive and stimulating book. There is hardly anything with which to quarrel except possibly the attribution of too much influence to Unitarianism. After all, there were a great many Unitarians who did not shake the world. But he has described with a deft touch, in which his prodigious and wide research does not obtrude itself, one of the wonders of the age and conveys to us his enthusiasm, tempered by careful judgment, for his subject.

Brown University

CHESTER KIRBY

WATERLOO. By John Naylor. [British Battles Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1960. Pp. 208. \$4.50.) To the end of his life Napoleon could not understand what had gone wrong at Waterloo. On St. Helena he often pondered the question. The Emperor's bewilderment will not be shared by the readers of Naylor's volume. Here is the most lucid account available. The author adds nothing new to an old story, nor does he claim to do this, but what the narrative lacks in originality it makes up in clarity. Step by step the "tragedy of errors" is traced from the recruitment of the French troops to the triumphal return of Louis XVIII. The grand strategy of the campaign and the battle tactics of the various commanders are explained in language comprehensible even to readers unfamiliar with military operations. Especially helpful are the chapters on the English army and weapons. The citizen of the atomic age cannot repress a smile at the description of the deadly musket with a range of one hundred yards. But he must also confess to a certain nostalgia for that simple era when commanders could allow themselves the luxury not only of one mistake but of a whole series. For the heroes of Waterloo emerge as a befuddled lot, dealt with more kindly by Fate than they deserved. As for the vanquished, he achieved the distinction of blundering even more often than his opponents. Brilliant though his leadership was at the beginning of the campaign, it was his poor judgment that cost France the Battle of Waterloo, not Ney's failure to obey orders or Grouchy's dogged determination to obey them at all costs. Touches of human interest and quotations from participants in the campaign, mostly English, lighten the grim story. These add zest and charm. It is a pity that Naylor omitted footnotes merely because the extracts are all from published sources. Students must be reminded constantly to cite references, and this book seems

tailor made for parallel reading, especially in Freshman courses. It will be a welcome addition to any college library.

Washburn University

RUTH FRIEDRICH

BRITAIN IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS. By *W. P. Morrell*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 454. \$8.80.) This is a survey of British penetration, acquisition, and administration in the Pacific from the age of discovery to the end of the nineteenth century. A brief epilogue sketches trends in colonial policy and administration since 1900. Seven chapters trace the growth of British influence into the 1870's, with major attention on the rise of "missionary kingdoms" in Polynesia, the subsequent evangelistic penetration of Melanesia, and the growth and results of French religious and political rivalry in both areas. Developments leading to Fiji's annexation and the Western Pacific Order in Council of 1877 are treated in detail. In the next five chapters interest centers on the impact of French and German colonial policy on British interests, the process of partition, and the early shaping of administrative policies in Britain's new possessions. Professor Morrell stresses local circumstances as strongly determining factors in the generally reluctant interventions of the United Kingdom and provides useful summary interpretations of the forces that shaped action in each case. A chapter on administration in Fiji and New Guinea brings the story to the turn of the century. Inviting a look at the historical record, the author condemns facile and uninformed criticism of the efforts and achievements of missionaries and administrators. Theme and subject matter make, understandably, for a complex pattern of organization, but the reader's task could have been lightened by provision of cross references to names or events to which allusions are made, sometimes pages, sometimes chapters after original and often brief mention. Quotations from source materials provide the most lively writing. Morrell has read widely and with discrimination in the enormous mass of printed materials bearing on his subject and adds knowledge derived from personal spade work, particularly in Foreign Office manuscript materials. The result is a long-needed, scholarly, and valuable work of synthesis and interpretation.

University of Hawaii

THOMAS D. MURPHY

FREDERIC WILLIAM MAITLAND, HISTORIAN: SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS. Edited, with an introduction, by *Robert Livingston Schuyler*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1960. Pp. vi, 261. \$1.50.) The last few years have witnessed several efforts to make more readily available selected writings of Frederic William Maitland. The present collection represents another such effort, but its purpose is different in that it seeks primarily to illustrate the extraordinary combination of qualities that made Maitland a great historian. His writings have been widely drawn upon to bring out his fact-consciousness, his originality of thought, his imaginative insight, his sense of relevance and perspective, as well as the lucidity and clarity of his style. The selections are prefaced by an able introduction which sketches Maitland's life and describes the influences that shaped him into the greatest historian of English law. The introduction has been prepared primarily for history students, and it suffers occasionally from the wish to simplify (e.g., Lincoln's Inn is described as a famous law school and the Year Books as law reports), but it accomplishes its purpose and vividly emphasizes Maitland's ineluctable pursuit of historical truth, which explains and hence lightens the burden that the past places upon the present.

University of Pennsylvania Law School

GEORGE L. HASKINS

BUGANDA AND BRITISH OVERRULE, 1900-1955: TWO STUDIES. By *D. Anthony Low* and *R. Cranford Pratt*. (New York: Oxford University Press on behalf of

East African Institute of Social Research. 1960. Pp. xi, 373. \$7.70.) This volume opens a new and deeper level in the writing of Ganda history during the period of European domination. As the first publication to result from the interdisciplinary leadership studies begun in 1953 by the East African Institute of Social Research and the faculty of Makerere College, it is a work of collaboration between a historian and a political scientist. D. Anthony Low, the historian, has contributed the first half of the work, a detailed examination of the way the Uganda Agreement of 1900 came to be written as it was. With an unrivaled command of Ganda history in the decade before the agreement, he is able to present an excellent concise statement of the background followed by an extremely detailed account of the negotiations between Sir Harry Johnston and the regents of Buganda. This in turn is followed by a consideration of the aftermath, the consequences of the agreement for Ganda society, politics, and especially land tenure. It might be asked whether the Uganda Agreement really merits a study in such detail. Given the importance of the agreement for all subsequent Ganda history, quite clearly it does. At first glance, however, Low's definitive study has an odd appearance rising from the flat land of largely superficial administrative history we now have of the Uganda Protectorate, and from the *terrae incognitae* that stretch in most directions from Buganda province. It should be increasingly valuable as work in similar detail begins to appear in neighboring areas. The dust jacket claims that the second half of the volume is a study of the effects of the Uganda Agreement and thus a direct continuation of the first. It is not. Professor Pratt's title, "The Politics of Indirect Rule: Uganda, 1900-1950," tells more accurately what he is about. Where Low deals with the agreement as an aspect of Ganda history, Pratt treats Ganda history as an aspect of the variety of administrative devices that have gone under the name of "indirect rule." He is principally concerned with the way administrators dealt with Buganda and with the agreement in the light of changing concepts of administrative theory. The depth of Low's study comes through its concentration in time and space, while that of Pratt's work comes from a narrow concern with administrative ideas and practices over a half century. It is, in short, a work of political science, and a good one. As such it is probably more useful to historians than it would have been if Pratt had tried to write a direct historical sequel to Low's work. While these are not quite the neatly complementary pair of studies that may have been intended, the volume as a whole may represent the best solution to the problem of interdisciplinary work in the social sciences, that of letting each ask its own questions and find its own answers for the sake of whatever information each may add to complex reality.

University of Wisconsin

PHILIP D. CURTIN

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS RELATING TO SCOTLAND, 1916-1950. In two volumes. Compiled by P. D. Hancock. (Edinburgh: the University Press; distrib. by Quadrangle Books, Chicago. 1959. Pp. x, 244; viii, 370. \$15.00.) In 1917 the Scottish History Society published *A Contribution to the Bibliography of Scottish Topography*, a two-volume work consisting of a list of books about Scotland and Scottish affairs published since earliest times to about 1916. Mr. P. D. Hancock has now produced a continuation to 1950 on the same pattern. The first volume, after a short section on general descriptive works and atlases, is devoted to a detailed listing of books, shire by shire, and alphabetically by town within each shire. The second volume classifies books by subject, a far more detailed and elaborate breakdown than that in the original work. Both volumes are listings only; there is no attempt to be critical, although occasionally an ambiguous title is clarified by a brief description of the book's contents. This compilation's usefulness to historians is limited. It is greatest for local history, where the listings are extremely detailed. Some of the listings on specific subjects in Volume II are

good, but those for history are spotty. The works devoted exclusively to Scotland are there, though sometimes in odd places. Audrey Cunningham's *The Loyal Clans*, an important study of political history, is under "Biography." The editor has, however, also attempted to provide here and there a certain number of titles of general works on Britain which are important for Scotland, and the lists are not at all complete. For instance, under "Stuart," G. N. Clark's volume in the *Oxford History* series is listed; Godfrey Davies' is not. It also seems that the editor's compromise respecting periodical literature is not entirely satisfactory. He has included all the references found in the sheaf catalogue of Scottish books in the National Library of Scotland to three Scottish journals, including the *Scottish Historical Review*. This catalogue is evidently incomplete. Thus R. K. Hannay's article in the *SHR*, "On the Church Lands at the Reformation," is listed (though incorrectly, with "of" substituted for "at"), but his "A Study of Reformation History," which also dealt with the land problem in the same journal a few years later, is omitted. Another weakness is that books are listed only once, and the cross-referencing is inadequate. Thus Sir James Fergusson's *Argyle in the Forty-five* is listed under "The 1745 Rising," as it should be, but not under "Argyllshire," as it also ought to be. The index is so bad as to be virtually useless. In short, historians must use this work with very great care.

University of Illinois

MAURICE LEE, JR.

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1939. Second Series, Volume VIII, CHINESE QUESTIONS, 1929-31. Edited by Rohan Butler and J. P. T. Bury. Assisted by M. E. Lambert. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1960. Pp. lxxv, 1044. \$14.77 postpaid.) The publication of each volume in Sir Lewellyn Woodward's great collection of British diplomatic documents is an event for students of international relations. This first book in its Second Series dealing with the Far East completes the work that was prepared and mainly edited by Professor Woodward before his retirement. More than eight hundred documents are concerned with three issues in Anglo-Chinese relations between April 1929 and December 1931: Britain's rendition of the leased territory of Weihaiwei, the surrender of British extraterritorial rights in China, and British efforts in conjunction with the League of Nations to achieve a peaceful settlement of the crisis precipitated by Japan's occupation of Mukden on September 18-19, 1931. The material includes not only Foreign Office records but also some of the personal papers of the first Marquis of Reading and of Sir John Simon. References to related documents published elsewhere necessitate the use of other source collections with this volume. Documents have seldom illustrated more clearly the tedious minutiae of the diplomatic process and the knowledge, understanding, and skill required of negotiators who try to bring the East and West into agreement. Sir Miles Lampson, later Baron Killearn, the British minister to China from 1926 to 1933, excelled in such undertakings. Reports on the aims and tactics of other governments with interests in China and analyses of China's internal problems depict the network of political maneuvers in relation to which British policy had to be forged. Foreign Office memoranda place British policy in its historical setting and summarize its development from time to time during the years here considered. It is evident that the British government recognized both the inevitability and the justice of the surrender of Weihaiwei and their extraterritorial rights in China. The former had taken place and Sir Miles Lampson and the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs had agreed upon the text for an Anglo-Chinese treaty to abolish the latter when Japanese aggression in Manchuria turned Britain's attention to the settlement of Sino-Japanese grievances. Her statesmen then sought to uphold the authority of the Council of the League of Nations acting under Article XI of the Covenant and to avoid independent action which

would alienate Japan in achieving a just peace. They realized their failure and that of the League, however, even before the passage of the Council's resolution appointing a commission of inquiry in December 1931.

Washington, D. C.

GRACE FOX

EUROPE

KRIEGSNACHRICHTEN UND PROPAGANDA WÄHREND DES DREISIGJÄHRIGEN KRIEGES: DIE SCHLACHT BEI NÖRDLINGEN IN DEN GLEICHZEITIGEN, GEDRUCKTEN KRIEGSBERICHTEN. By *Göran Rystad*. [Publications of the New Society of Letters at Lund, Number 54.] (Lund: C W K Gleerup. 1960. Pp. vii, 294. 25 kr.) If it can be agreed that the Thirty Years' War witnessed the advent of modern propaganda, considerable interest will attach to Professor Rystad's attempt to ascertain the methods by which the war reports of this period were circulated and how they lent themselves to exploitation as propaganda vehicles. The author believes that this purpose is best accomplished by concentrating on a single event of such acknowledged significance that it constitutes an adequate case study. He selects the celebrated Battle of Nördlingen of September 1634. More than half of the book is devoted to exhaustive textual analysis of the leading Catholic and Protestant descriptions of this battle. More absorbing reading is afforded by the ensuing section, in which the particular kinds and aims of the propaganda of the day are elucidated. Rystad forcefully demonstrates that all parties to the struggle at Nördlingen misrepresented the military and political facts in their battle accounts. The Catholics did so in order to magnify their victory, the Protestants to excuse their defeat, and the squabbling factions within both camps—Bavarians, Spaniards, Austrians, Swedes, and German princes—to nourish and satisfy their national aspirations and requirements, which were beginning to overshadow religious considerations though religious propaganda remained spirited. Catholics and Protestants alike posed as champions of political liberty and German solidarity. Many earlier discussions of the use of publicity devices during the Thirty Years' War are available, but none approaches the problem so systematically as Rystad or with such painstaking attention to the whole range of source materials. The documentation is impressive throughout and the conclusions developed are sound and convincing. Although the account is occasionally repetitious and although the German, in translation, is somewhat unadorned, both the specialist in the period and those interested in the evolution of propaganda techniques will find much to applaud.

Western Michigan University

WALTER J. BRUNHUMER

THE NEW BONAPARTIST GENERALS IN THE CRIMEAN WAR: DISTRUST AND DECISION-MAKING IN THE ANGLO-FRENCH ALLIANCE. By *Brisson D. Gooch*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1959. Pp. 289. Glds. 19.00.) This book is disappointing in many ways. In it the author sets out to prove that the French generals in the Crimean War failed to carry out the Napoleonic military tradition. He succeeds in the undertaking. But is this minor contribution worth a volume dealing mainly with an already familiar story? He has read much about the conflict and his book contains some interesting information. He discusses, for example, the health, ambitions, jealousies, and opportunism of the generals in charge of the French armies, especially Generals Saint-Arnaud, Canrobert, and Pelissier, "the three successive commanders-in-chief of the near East." He also describes the rivalries, petty antagonisms, and disagreements between the French high command and officers under them, Emperor Napoleon III, and the

English generals. There is, however, a vagueness, and a lack of organization of the material as a whole, that indicates failure on the part of the author to assimilate the historical facts he has collected. Furthermore in his attempt to develop a significant theme, the relationship between military action during the Crimean War and the collapse of France in 1870, he presents evidence that is inadequate. It is a pity that Gooch did not carry on research in the archives and libraries of France and England before publishing this book instead of limiting his investigation to three libraries in the United States. It is also unfortunate that the volume is not well written. Good editing might have eliminated the vague sentences and awkwardly worded quotations. The author has prepared a satisfactory index and a list of the books he has used.

University of California, Berkeley

FRANKLIN C. PALM

THE NOBILITY OF TOULOUSE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDY. By *Robert Forster*. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXVIII (1960), Number 1.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1960. Pp. 9-212, viii. Cloth \$5.00, paper \$4.00.) This study is based on administrative correspondence, tax rolls, records of provincial and diocesan assemblies, family papers, and parliamentary and municipal archives that the author consulted during his stay of more than two years at Toulouse. It is also based on published sources, primary and secondary. With extraordinary success Forster brings forward in statistical and case studies just those particulars about the noble families of the Toulouse region that are most significant in view of generalizations usually made about nobles of eighteenth-century France. The book is based largely on archival material needed to answer questions that the author, from his secondary sources, has seen to be most pertinent. The definiteness with which Forster writes about estate management, officeholding, investments, inheritances, dowries, debts, incomes, and living standards is enormously satisfying. This material, as he says, is not "typical"; it is just about Toulouse and its environs. Yet it is the more fascinating for being irreducibly particular, and one becomes wary of old stereotypes in the presence of these people, their economic behavior, their social staying power, their mentality reflected in contracts, legacies, and petitions, their human side revealed by the size of dowries and the portions of cadets. Persons curious about the workings of French institutions can read Forster's book with ease and pleasure. Graduate students wishing to learn how to write something limited in scope, yet original and significant, will do well to use it as a model, subject to the caution that the author's smooth performance can only have resulted from years of intelligent application. His book is, moreover, a positive contribution to the knowledge, not merely of American readers, but of French specialists, including those of Toulouse, who gave it a prize.

Swarthmore College

PAUL H. BEIK

LOMÉNIE DE BRIENNE ET L'ORDRE MONASTIQUE (1766-1789). By *Pierre Chevallier*. [Bibliothèque de la Société d'Histoire ecclésiastique de la France.] (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin. 1959. Pp. 392.) In 1766 the French monarchy, at the instigation of Choiseul and the archbishop of Toulouse, Loménie de Brienne, appointed a commission (half clerical, half lay) to investigate conditions within the decaying monastic orders of France and to recommend measures appropriate to their restoration. This volume is a study of certain aspects of the work of this "Commission des Réguliers" between 1766 and 1789, advancing the earlier work of Charles Gérin and Mlle. Lemaire on this subject by exploiting the papers of Brienne that were deposited in the Archives Nationales in 1931 and materials of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Chevallier notes repeatedly that the commission established an unfortunate precedent for the Constituent

Assembly to follow in dealing with the secular church at a later date. He is willing to concede, however, that at the time, in the absence of "reforming saints" within the orders, no other means for reform existed. Even if the reformers had been completely disinterested in their work, there appeared little real chance for success on their part, so closely was the regular church tied to the dying society of the old regime. In any case, the reformers were not disinterested. Choiseul was hostile to the very principle of monasticism and sought to restrict it as much as conditions would permit. The bishops saw in reform an opportunity to abolish the immunity of the orders from episcopal supervision and discipline. The parlements saw a new opportunity to combat ultramontaniam. As for Brienne, the reform work was merely a means "for achieving the one ambition of his life: the ministry. . . . [he] was sufficiently intelligent to realize that he would succeed in this only by gaining pardon from enlightened opinion for his ecclesiastical position. The times of Richelieu, of Mazarin, and even of Fleury had passed. It was expedient for a prelate to be enlightened, tolerant, and not devout if he aspired to the ministry, that he be the chief of a reforming party within the Church. . . ." The papacy and the orders were left to salvage what they could from the situation. In view of the book's title, the organization of material leaves much to be desired. The author presents 250 pages of information dealing with the activities of the commission before telling the reader of its creation. Brienne's role is not dealt with as fully as one might expect from the title. The actual reform measures of the commission, which led to the suppression of a half dozen orders and to substantial reforms in the others, are passed over too quickly and summarily. The work closes, promising shortly to turn to certain matters which actually had been dealt with almost one hundred pages earlier. On the other hand, the author has used his documents with great care. The first 250 pages of the book present in detail the results of an investigation into conditions within the monastic orders by the commission. These reports constituted, as Chevallier points out, *cahiers de doléances* for the regular clergy some twenty-five years before the meeting of the Estates-General, and by devoting so much attention to them he presents much information on monastic life in France in the 1760's.

Pomona College

BURDETTE C. POLAND

MY ODYSSEY: EXPERIENCES OF A YOUNG REFUGEE FROM TWO REVOLUTIONS, BY A CREOLE OF SAINT DOMINGUE. Translated and edited by *Althéa de Puech Parham*. Introduction by *Selden Rodman*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1959. Pp. xxvi, 204. \$4.95.) Even today, the collapse of the old regime in Saint Domingue remains one of the most tragic periods in modern history. In this well-edited and beautiful book we see the horrors of the struggle through the eyes of a young planter who participated in the fighting from 1791 to 1797. A sixteen-year-old son of the De Puech family (his first name is no longer known) returned to the plantation near Cap Français after years of schooling in France the day before actual fighting began in Saint Domingue. In eight "informal but highly stylized letters to friends and members of the family" he recounted his own part in the terrible struggle. Around 1798 the De Puechs settled in New Orleans, where the letters were preserved with other family papers. Mrs. Parham is to be thanked for making her kinsman's manuscript available in an excellent and attractive translation. The experiences young De Puech related were varied even for such a revolutionary period. They included the revolt in 1791, two years of terrible civil war, and the flight of the entire De Puech family to the United States in 1793. For a brief period in America, he joined other French exiles in giving musical concerts around New York. Then he returned to Saint Domingue to join the Spanish who had announced that they were reconquering the country for France. After the Spanish failure, he joined the British, who had occupied

part of the island, and served happily with them for nearly two years. When the British left Saint Domingue in 1797, they brought De Puech and the other remaining French officers to the United States. The final letter of this volume is an interesting account of a trip from New York to Philadelphia in the summer of 1798. According to the family account, he died shortly thereafter. The personal and intimate tone of the letters wins the interest and warm sympathy of the reader. One likes a young man who in such times could write with humor and often in verse. With a light touch he gives helpful glimpses of life and thought in Saint Domingue at the end of its great epoch.

Pomona College

E. WILSON LYON

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871-1914). First Series (1871-1900). Volume XV (2 JANVIER-14 NOVEMBRE 1899). [Ministère des Affaires étrangères: Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1959. Pp. xxxv, 552.) The year 1899 is generally characterized as one in which the great European alliances and alignments were in a state of flux. This volume does nothing to alter this over-all characterization but it does bring out the cool and quiet consistency with which Delcassé worked to take advantage of this situation to strengthen France's position. We see him, despite the post-Fashoda bitterness on both sides of the Channel, calmly working through the able Paul Cambon at London for a real *détente* with Britain. The result of this policy was the amicable settlement of the crucial question of the Upper Nile. The road to the entente of 1904 was by no means smooth or straight, but in early 1899 its general direction was becoming apparent. On his way toward an understanding with Britain, Delcassé encountered distractions, temptations, and counterpressures. The Russians, of course, were nervous at the slightest sign of a French rapprochement with either Britain or Germany, and the French military attaché at St. Petersburg wrote enthusiastically of the need for French money to build a strategic railroad down to Tashkent so that Russian military power could be brought to bear on the otherwise invulnerable British position in India. Delcassé was not interested. He was much more concerned about bringing Russian power to bear in Central Europe, particularly in the event of the dissolution of the Triple Alliance due to the breakdown of the Dual Monarchy, a contingency not provided for in the Franco-Russian alliance. It was this worry that motivated his trip to St. Petersburg in August, during which he and Muraviev worked out the broader formula under which the alliance would apply to the maintenance of "équilibre entre les forces européennes." There is unfortunately little that is new in the present volume on this subject. The Italians, with an eye on Tripolitania, complained bitterly that their interests had not been taken into account in the Anglo-French declaration of March 21 regarding the Sudan. Delcassé and Ambassador Barrère saw immediately the leverage that they could exercise to weaken Italian ties to Vienna and Berlin. France might even encourage Italian aspirations in Tripolitania if Italy supported the French in Morocco. There was no hurry. As Delcassé pointed out to Barrère, time was working on the side of France. The volume also contains many interesting documents on the rivalry of the powers in China.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN

LA PENSÉE POLITIQUE DEPUIS MONTESQUIEU. By *Félix Ponteil*. (Paris: Sirey. 1960. Pp. xv, 355. 22 new fr.) This is a survey of modern political theory by a historian well known for his work on the Revolution and on France in the first half of the nineteenth century. One can scarcely tell that a historian did in fact write this book. Summary succeeds summary, thinker follows thinker through the air, most of them presented as intellectual specters cut off from the social, economic, and psycho-

logical foundations that determined their attitudes. The summaries are brief and clear introductions to the major theorists. Ponteil includes some French thinkers not usually covered in American surveys: Renouvier, Dupont-White, Léon Bourgeois, Prévost-Paradol, Renan, Taine, Barrès, Maurras; and he quickly scans American development, Arab thought, and Sun Yat-Sen. In his preface Ponteil said that he would go straight to the theorists and treat them as a historian would deal with any body of sources. I began his book, accordingly, with great hope that the pall cast by abstracting and schematizing political scientists over the history of political theory would be lifted. It was not. We historians have yet to produce a history of political theory that really is history, the consideration of ideas about politics not as wraiths, but as part of the whole texture of life.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

RICHARD L. SCHOENWALD

FOCH VERSUS CLEMENCEAU: FRANCE AND GERMAN DISMEMBERMENT, 1918-1919. By *Jere Clemens King*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 44.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. vi, 137. \$4.00.) The full story of the relationships between the major political figures at the Paris Peace Conference and their military advisers remains to be recounted, but here, in this brisk, stimulating monograph, Mr. King explores what was undoubtedly the most dramatic of these conflicts, that between Clemenceau and Foch. The author comes to this work after having successfully studied in a previous book the clash between generals and politicians in France during the war years. His conclusions are simple. Both Clemenceau and Foch wanted a peace that would provide France with security and both saw the desirability of an independent Rhineland, but Clemenceau alone recognized that insistence on such a Rhineland policy would cost France her indispensable allies and would lead to diplomatic, military, and even moral isolation. Foch, insistent in his views, aware of wide public support within France, and conscious of Clemenceau's own soul searching, pressed his point by a variety of maneuvers, including encouragement of Rhenish separatist movements. The Rhineland-Palatinate *Putsch* of 1919 is traced in considerable detail, with some new evidence to confirm subornation by the French military. As in the wartime conflict in France, civilian policy making triumphed and, in the author's judgment, deservedly so. Clemenceau kept the allies he considered essential, at least for a time. He sincerely renounced the Rhineland policy in the belief that he had achieved security for France through the promised Anglo-American guarantees, the demilitarization of the Rhineland, and the right of unilateral occupation in the event of treaty violation. That the Rhineland clauses of Versailles were not enforced by a "feckless" government in 1936, King maintains, was not the "Tiger's" fault. At one point the author's sympathies with Clemenceau carry him too far. Is it not lending excessive significance to an old quarrel to say that the "renewed solidarity" of the English-speaking world with France in the Second World War "would have been precluded by a disguised or overt French annexation of the Rhineland" in 1919? A product of careful investigation and reflection, this monograph will interest students of twentieth-century France (and Germany), the Paris Peace Conference, and the enduring conflict between civilian and military policy makers in all countries.

Duke University

JOEL COLTON

THE FIFTH FRENCH REPUBLIC. By *Dorothy Pickles*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1960. Pp. 222. Cloth \$3.50, paper \$1.65.) DIE V. REPUBLIK: FRANKREICH'S NEUES REGIERUNGSSYSTEM. By *Gilbert Ziebura*. [Die Wissenschaft von der Politik, Volume XII.] (Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1960. Pp. 333. DM 19.75.) Since it is too soon for anything else, these two works deal with the institutions and the

Constitution of the Fifth Republic. Mrs. Pickles' book treats the former largely in terms of the latter. Beginning with an analysis of the historical memories and undertones that hover over every constitutional banquet, it discusses parliament, parties, presidency, overseas France, the Algerian conflict, and, above all, the Constitution itself as it does or may affect them all. This document has been variously described as the worst-drafted French constitution in history, tailor-made for General de Gaulle, Orléanist, quasi-monarchical, quasi-presidential, unworkable, untidy, ephemeral, the pure and simple organization of anarchy, a temporary irritant, a major lunacy, a bureaucrat's happy hunting ground, a technocratic paradise, a parliamentarian's nightmare, a Republican face saver, a form of castration, or a total irrelevancy. Despite a weakness for certain timeworn labels, Mrs. Pickles' generalizations are often pithily qualified and her discussion based on evident knowledge of and familiarity with French politics. The book goes farther than any other available in English to put one in the picture and suggest the immediate origin and the possibilities of the present French system. It is, however, by its very nature, a "work of circumstance" even more ephemeral than the Constitution of which it treats, because it begs questions that can only be answered by time. Speculation, however thoughtful and informed, must wait on events for confirmation or, more often, contradiction. When events are bound to be the great interpreters, this kind of book appears an intellectual's exercise whose criticism must be looked for in the daily press. For those, however, who enjoy such interpretative efforts, Dr. Ziebur offers all the essential French texts . . . in German. His collection of readings is a mine of statements and statistics that can help us understand some of the intentions and realities behind the new regime. It contains rich veins of material on the nature of executive, legislative, and the Franco-African community; thinner ones on the army and the Constitution; little or nothing on pressure groups, electoral sociology, or, as such, Algeria. This reflects the author's idea of the needs of the moment and his belief that the future of the Fifth Republic depends less upon Algeria than on its relations with the *Communauté*. Uneven but rich, his collection will not soon be outdated. One can only wish that it, or a similar instrument, were also available in English. The fact that both authors devote much space and attention to personalities, particularly to General de Gaulle, reflects the nature and problem of the new order: a flight to monarchy, as Ziebur calls it, a return toward non-archy as the New Right claims. Whether, in Mrs. Pickles' words, De Gaulle's Republic can become the French Republic, remains unanswered.

University of California, Los Angeles

EUGEN WEBER

PIRATES ON THE WEST COAST OF NEW SPAIN, 1575-1742. By *Peter Gerhard*. [Spain in the West, Volume VIII.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1960. Pp. 274. \$8.50 postpaid.) Much has been written about foreign incursion in the Caribbean and along the northern coast of South America during the colonial period. Several important works have explored the activities of the French and Dutch in Brazilian waters. Little attention, however, has been paid to the west coast of North America with the exception of the well-recorded activities of Francis Drake and the *Golden Hind*. In this work Gerhard discusses twenty-five expeditions of various sorts into the North Pacific. Where there is documentary material available, he writes a comprehensive story. He details landing sites and local reaction on the part of the Spanish authorities. The useful first chapter contains an analysis of the cartography of the coast line from Panama to Lower California with a description of towns, fortifications, and harbor facilities. Gerhard has made excellent use of unpublished materials in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville and of printed works on west coast geography and the actual accounts of the voyages of Dampier and Pretty. He presents a strong case for his tentative conclusion that one result of this piracy was "the reiterated order forbidding

... colonization of the coastal region," thus accounting in part for the present deserted condition of some of Mexico's most fertile areas. A useful glossary of Spanish terms, a lengthy bibliography, an adequate index, and several illustrations and charts complete this interesting work. The publisher should be commended on the excellent format of this series.

University of Georgia

RICHARD K. MURDOCH

MALASPINA IN CALIFORNIA. By *Donald C. Cutter*. (San Francisco: John Howell. 1960. Pp. viii, 96. \$17.50.) This does not pretend to be a complete summary of the Malaspina expedition, for which several large volumes would be required. Instead, as the title indicates, it concentrates upon the fifteen days he stayed in Monterey. Relations of various nautical problems, descriptions of settlers and Indians, the account of his welcome by Father President Fermín Lasuén, and the reports of the scientists connected with the *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, the vessels in which he sailed, make up the book, to which are added reproductions of nineteen illustrations, including four colored ones. As practically the only work generally available, this narration of a brief chapter in the important Malaspina voyage (1789-1793) will fill a void between the accounts of La Pérouse and Vancouver.

Menlo Park, California

CARL I. WHEAT

JOHN REINHOLD SAHLBERG: HYÖNTEISTIETELIJÄ, TUTKIMUSMATKAILIJA JA AATTEELLISTEN RIENTOJEN EDISTÄJÄ, 1845-1920. By *Uunio Saalas*. [Acta Entomologica Fennica, Volume XVI.] (Helsinki: Suomen Hyönteistieteilin Seura. 1960. Pp. 620.) Since the review in this journal (LXIII [Oct. 1957], 200) of his biography of the "Ur-Grossvater" of the distinguished Sahlberg entomological dynasty of Finland, Professor Uunio Saalas (Sahlberg to 1906) has published studies of "Grossvater" (*Reinhold Ferdinand Sahlberg: Tutkimusmatkailija, luonnontieteilijä, lääkäri ja tilanomistaja 1811-1874* [1958]) and of "Vater" (the present volume). Following in the footsteps of his forbears, John Reinhold Sahlberg became an entomologist, and in 1883 was appointed professor at the University of Helsinki after a decade's service as a docent. He engaged in extensive field work throughout Finland, in other European countries, and in Asia and Africa, the fruits of which are seen in the entomological collections of the Universities of Helsinki and Turku. While not qualifying as first-rate biographical writing, the present volume provides a highly detailed account of Sahlberg's career. A ninety-six-page German-language summary provides most of the essentials. Although entomology holds no particular fascination for me, I nonetheless found a number of unexpected treasures, among them some letters of several Sahlberg kinsfolk who participated in the American Civil War and some new information on mid-nineteenth-century Finnish emigration to the New World by way of northern Norway. After three biographies no doubt Saalas has developed sufficient momentum to close out the Sahlberg saga by writing his autobiography.

Heidelberg College

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

VENSTRE OG FORSVARSSAGEN, 1870-1901. By *Kristian Hvidt*. [Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie, Sprog og Litteratur, Number 7.] (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1960. Pp. 220.) Danish defense policy changed in the last third of the nineteenth century from a *revanche* military program, an aftermath of the Dano-German War of 1863-1864, to a concept of neutrality. The factors involved in this shift, as Kristian Hvidt so well describes them, consisted of leadership within *Venstre* (Liberal party), the growth of radical ideas, the strong economy measures of farmers, and international principles of antimilitarism and neutrality. Roughly divided into three periods, these

years fall into the early farmer-dominated parsimonious era, the antimilitarism of Viggo Hørup, and the neutrality-arbitration treaty theme of Frede Bojesen. Defense policy of *Venstre* also revolved around other considerations: the wish of old Grundtvigians for a "people in arms," the antidemocratic nature of the army itself, and the fight over naval and land defenses. These interwoven factors constitute a façade for such problems as the split in *Venstre*, parliamentary and social reform, awakening political interest among workers, influences from abroad, and the Danish farm revolution and urban industrialization. Hvidt's errors are few and his mechanics sound. The bibliography and footnotes carry clear indications of sources and the extent of materials for the study. Personally, I would appreciate more of *Venstre* history and less of a biographical survey of Hørup and other leaders. The undue emphasis upon men misses the nuances of party development and opinion, thus giving a distorted view of Danish politics. Similar trends in other European countries undoubtedly exerted an influence upon Danish policy as the comments upon Bjørnsen's activity in both Denmark and Norway indicate. Yet Hvidt has shown clearly the shift in party attitudes and has given fresh materials for understanding this era in Danish history which is, as yet, quite clouded with misconceptions.

Occidental College

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

FRANZ LAMBERT VON AVIGNON UND DIE REFORMATION IN HESSEN. By *Gerhard Müller*. [Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck 24, 4. Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte des Landgrafen Philipp des Grossmütigen, Marburg.] (Marburg: the Kommission. 1958. Pp. x, 182.) Lambert of Avignon was the only French convert to Protestantism who played a role of any importance in German territory in the sixteenth century. He is associated with the Reformation in Hesse. His *Paradoxa* served as the basis for the discussion at the Synod of Homberg through which Philip of Hesse introduced the Reformation. Lambert was also renowned as the author of the *Reformatio Hassiae*, which proposed a plan for church administration of a congregational type. Though it was not adopted because Luther opposed it, the ideas were to recur in French and English Puritanism. In Scotland Lambert has been especially esteemed because Patrick Hamilton, the first Scottish martyr of the Reformation, sat under him at Marburg. A recent discovery now gives Lambert a fresh significance. His *Somme chrétienne* has just come to light. It was an apology written in French for the Protestants and was to be presented to the emperor when he learned of the celebrated Lutheran protest at the Diet of Speyer. The work so infuriated the emperor that Philip of Hesse sent an apologetic letter, in which, however, he retracted nothing. Lambert's statement, printed at Marburg, was withheld from circulation and apparently only this copy survives. Following this episode Lambert's contribution to the Reformation was in the role of professor at Marburg. This is a thorough and fascinating study.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BAINTON

MOSES HESS: UTOPIAN SOCIALIST. By *John Weiss*. [Wayne State University Studies, Social Sciences, Number 8.] (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1960. Pp. 77. \$1.95.) Dr. Weiss's compact but sensitive essay on Moses Hess is a good introduction to that much-neglected socialist and his thought. This short study is, of course, neither a full-scale biography nor a comprehensive analysis of Hess's writings. For the first, one must still depend on the rather old German work of Theodor Zlocisti, and for the second, one must await the forthcoming book by Professor Edmund Silberner. Through an intelligent examination of several books and articles by Hess, Weiss has traced the successive stages of his socialism and has noted the most important influences

on him. In the course of his lifetime, Hess absorbed and reflected the thought of many philosophers and socialists, particularly Hegel, Fichte, Spinoza, Feuerbach, Marx, and Lassalle. He responded, furthermore, to the political and economic developments of Western Europe from the 1840's to the 1870's. Thus, Hess was in turn a utopian anarchist convinced that the world could be perfected by man's moral will, a scientific socialist persuaded by Marx that the new society would proceed from necessary economic transformations, and, under Lassalle's influence, a socialist reformer hopeful that socialism would develop gradually through state action. Through these successive stages of his development, Weiss points out, Hess remained a utopian at heart, unwilling to subordinate man to inevitable laws of history, but seeking through his own propaganda to stimulate man's moral effort.

Ohio State University

HARVEY GOLDBERG

AUS DEM NACHLASS DES FREIHERRN CARL FRIEDRICH KÜBECK VON KÜBAU: TAGEBÜCHER, BRIEFE, AKTENSTÜCKE (1841-1855). Edited with introduction by *Friedrich Walter*. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs, Volume XLV.] (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlau. 1960. Pp. 216. DM 16.80.) Baron Kübeck was a prominent member of the Austrian bureaucracy, his career extending more than half a century from Marengo to the Crimean War. Born into a family verging on poverty, he succeeded by hard work and considerable ability in becoming a leading financial adviser to a government whose finances were notoriously complex. The Hapsburgs, despite their reputation for ingratitude, could be generous to those who served them faithfully. In time the impecunious young clerk received a patent of nobility, learned to hobnob with the Schwarzenbergs and the Stadions, and was honored with the confidences of Francis I and Francis Joseph. Early in the twentieth century his son Max published his diaries for the years 1795-1809 and 1830-1839, and now Friedrich Walter has edited the papers for the period 1841-1855. They are an uncommonly interesting historical source. Kübeck was a staunch conservative of the Metternich school who after 1848 played a significant role in the establishment of the absolutist regime in Austria. His writings provide a fine, full-bodied portrait of a statesman of the older generation struggling tenaciously to maintain a traditional way of life against the newer forces of liberalism and nationalism in Central Europe.

University of Wisconsin

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

DAS DEUTSCHE VOLKSEINKOMMEN, 1851-1957. By *W. G. Hoffmann* and *J. H. Müller*. Assisted by *Heinz König et al.* [Schriften zur angewandten Wirtschaftsforschung, Number 1.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1959. Pp. xvi, 162. DM 16.50.) The authors of this statistical analysis compute German income from 1851 to 1913 chiefly on the basis of the income tax statistics of one or more states. They encountered formidable methodological problems: evaluation of the incomes of nontaxable persons, households, and enterprises, determination of appropriate data for the empire on the basis of fragmentary state accounts and estimates of the undistributed incomes of corporations. With the establishment of the Weimar Republic, the introduction of a federal income tax, and the creation of the federal statistical office, more trustworthy and adequate data became available for the years since 1920. National income was determined by adding to the income of private households the undistributed income of stock corporations and the income from state enterprises (printing presses, railways, postal service, and so on) and subtracting from this sum the interest on the public debt. The authors confirm the findings of other well-known scholars such as J. Kuczynski, P. Jostock, and E. Rogowsky. Among other things their data reveal a six-and-one-half-fold growth in per capita real income during the years 1851 to 1957, the rapid develop-

ment of corporate enterprises, the expanding economic activities of the state, and the consequent increase in the public debt since 1880. They also suggest the progressive integration of the German national economy, notably since 1900. The accuracy of much of the early data may leave something to be desired since, for lack of more trustworthy sources, the authors relied chiefly on Prussian statistics. Unfortunately, the criteria as well as the techniques of income tax assessment remain uncertain. Some readers will be disappointed by the authors' failure to interpret their extensive data. Hoffmann, Müller, and their collaborators have, nevertheless, left a useful, systematic, and chronologically extensive factual documentation of a century of phenomenal German economic expansion.

Pennsylvania State University

ALFRED G. PUNDT

WEHRGESETZ UND WEHRDIENST, 1935-1945: DAS PERSONALWESEN IN DER WEHRMACHT. By *Rudolf Absolon*. [Schriften des Bundesarchivs, Number 5.] (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag. 1960. Pp. xvi, 430. DM 19.80.) This book grew directly out of the activities of the *Zentralnachweisstelle* in Kornelimünster, which is the official depository for German military personnel records. It serves as a record office for individuals seeking documentary proof in matters relating to their military service, such as length and form of service, especially as these relate to military derived disabilities and pension rights. Written by an archivist for other archivists, the book is designed to meet the practical needs of such individuals. It collates the laws on the recruitment of the German armed forces from the first law of the Third Reich on compulsory military service (May 1935) through the last pertinent ordinances (May 1945). The summary of laws is introduced by a brief history of the German army and followed by a guide to the charts that outline its organization at various times, with an indication of the location of additional materials. Clarity and precise organization are the outstanding qualities of this guide. The index is comprehensive, and the list of abbreviations, which is indispensable in such a compendium, is complete. Even Keitel and Himmler finally protested against the propagation and multiplication of cryptic initial letter abbreviations. No complete glossary has yet appeared to bring order into the confusion that stimulated their protest. The present work goes far to meet this need in a significant sector of German life, one that became, of course, more important as the years passed. Absolon does not attempt more than a factual account of the pertinent laws and the organizations that resulted from putting them into practice. He does not critically analyze the laws, nor does he assess the vitality and the effectiveness of institutions. He simply lists the number and variety of the organizations of the NSDAP and the German regular army and summarizes the regulations that purported to govern their relations to each other. His method goes far to explain the massive inefficiency of the Third Reich and to justify the outbursts against *Papierkrieg* that punctuate its records. By indirection, the present work illustrates the origins of this paper inundation in the jungle of mutually contradictory, chronically warring, overlapping authorities that constituted the administration of Hitler's Germany.

Alexandria, Virginia

MIRIAM HASKETT

ÖSTERREICH-UNGARNS ANTEIL AM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG. By *Rudolf Kiszling*. [Historische Schriften des Arbeitskreises für österreichische Geschichte, Series 1.] (Graz: Stiasny Verlag. 1958. Pp. 96. Sch. 15.) This brief survey of Austria-Hungary's role in World War I is written by a former general in the Austro-Hungarian army and former director (1936-1945) of the Austrian war archives. It is based mainly on the official seven-volume *Österreich-Ungarns letzter Krieg 1914-1918*, published between 1929 and 1938 by the Austrian war archives. The author took an important part

in editing this larger work. In this volume Kiszling summarizes briefly the role played by the Austro-Hungarian military forces during the war. He has written very little about the fighting in theaters of combat in which Hapsburg troops did not actively participate, mentioning only what is indispensable to understanding the campaigns of the Austro-Hungarian army. Most of the discussion is limited strictly to military affairs. The author gives information about such matters as the make-up and strength of army groups, tactical operations, and the results of the various campaigns in which Hapsburg soldiers participated. He also briefly mentions the success of Allied propagandists in undermining the morale of the various nationality groups in the Austro-Hungarian army. The book is divided into fifteen short sections and a brief preface. Six maps illustrate the important campaigns described in the volume.

University of Texas

R. JOHN RATH

ILLUMINISTI ITALIANI. Part 3, RIFORMATORI LOMBARDI, PIEMONTESE E TOSCANI. Edited by *Franco Venturi*. [La letteratura italiana, storia e testi, Volume XLVI, Part 3.] (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore. 1958. Pp. xxiii, 1149. L. 6,000.) During the second half of the eighteenth century a new spirit animated Italy. Its intelligentsia began to study and to try to solve the social, legal, and economic problems besetting the antiquated structure of Italian life, but the leavening action of foreign contacts was even more important for the intellectual ferment of this age. Anxious to participate in the effervescence of the Enlightenment, Italians corresponded with their peers across Europe and often went on extended foreign tours, returning home with new ideas and bold plans. A vast literature on "political economy," which fills most of the fifty volumes in Pietro Custodi's collection *Scrittori classici italiani di economia politica*, published at Milan in 1803-1816, records this activity. The present collection, ably annotated and edited by Professor Venturi, presents excerpts from the works of the major Lombard, Piedmontese, and Tuscan thinkers and reformers: Cesare Beccaria, Alfonso Longo, Paolo Frisi, Giambattista Biffi, Gianrinaldo Carli, Giuseppe Gorani, Carlantonio Pilati, Antonio De Giuliani, Carlo Denina, the brothers Giambattista and Francesco Dalmazzo Vasco, Sallustio Bandini, Pompeo Neri, Francesco Gianni, Giovanni Fabbroni. Included are selections from works long available in published form and from hitherto unpublished manuscripts, scattered in many libraries and known only to the specialist. The writings of the Verri brothers—Pietro and Alessandro, loadstones of the Milanese *Caffé*—will comprise a separate volume, as will those of the Neapolitan reformers, among whom Antonio Genovesi played so important a role. This collection is part of a monumental work that will, upon completion, include a seven-volume history of Italian literature, accompanied by seventy-five volumes of source material. If other editors will be as selective in their choice of source material and as perceptive in their accompanying notes, students of Italian intellectual history will have a most helpful reference work.

Regis College

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

REVISIONE DI GIUDIZI: L'ITALIA E LA SECONDA GUERRA MONDIALE. By *Emilio Faldella*. [Testimoni per la storia del "nostro tempo," Collana di memorie diari e documenti, Series II, Volume XXXIII.] (2d ed.; [Bologna:] Cappelli, 1960. Pp. 808. L. 3,000.) The author served as Chief of Staff of the Italian Sixth Army which in the summer of 1943 opposed the Anglo-American invasion of Sicily. After the war he assisted Morison with very useful Italian materials for *Sicily-Salerno-Anzio* and in 1956 produced a very good monograph on the Sicilian campaign from the Italian point of view: *Lo sbarco e la difesa della Sicilia*. Here Faldella has gone beyond the range of his personal experience and produced a very useful survey. He has covered

the Italian literature, but his knowledge of German and English materials is spotty and largely dependent on what has been translated into Italian or French. Although this is a second edition he did not use George F. Howe's splendid monograph *Northwest Africa: Seizing the Initiative in the West* (1957). He writes as an Italian patriot and wherever possible points out achievements, but in general he is fair, even to the Germans as evidenced in his treatment of Kesselring. There is little that is factually new, but the author's professional experience gives value to his judgments on military men and decisions in Italy. The treatment of the decision to attack Greece is excellent, as is that of the whole period of "parallel war" (July–December 1940). His views on Badoglio's work as Chief of the Armed Forces General Staff and his "passive acceptance of circumstances" and those on Cavallero are fair and clear. Chapter xiv, "Malta or Alexandria," is first rate. Faldella performs a service in refuting for Italian readers the notion that it was Mussolini's overthrow and Badoglio's peace moves that led to the Allied decision to invade Italy. The account of the armistice negotiations lacks many of the crucial facts on the Allied side and is marred by overgenerosity toward Badoglio, the King, and Ambrosio. In concluding, Faldella emphasizes that Mussolini was not alone among the leaders of World War II in making great mistakes. His diplomatic history is sound when he follows Toscano, but he is simply wrong when he draws on Tansill to suggest that in August 1939 it was Roosevelt who made negotiations impossible.

Washington, D. C.

HOWARD M. SMYTH

ISTORIJA NARODA JUGOSLAVIJE. Volume II. Edited by B. Grafenauer et al. (Belgrade: Prosveta. 1960. Pp. xvi, 1335. 3,000 dinars). The second volume of the *History of the Peoples of Yugoslavia* is part of a major project that has been described as the "first comprehensive attempt to interpret" Yugoslav history "from the point of view of historical materialism." The first volume appeared in 1953 and was noticeable as an attempt to fit Yugoslav medieval history into the Marxist-Leninist framework. This one covers the period from the beginning of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. During these three centuries nearly all of present-day Yugoslavia was ruled by the Hapsburgs, Turks, and Venetians, when it was not a battlefield for all the states interested in the Danube Basin. Historians studying this period in post-war Yugoslavia met with three kinds of difficulties: they disagreed on how much space should be devoted to the rulers as opposed to the peoples of Yugoslavia; they had to follow the Marxist-Leninist approach and the Titoist interpretation of the nationality question in Yugoslavia; and there arose the problem of sources. For a variety of reasons such as the shortage of trained Orientalists and access to archives abroad, previous generations of Yugoslav scholars preferred to concentrate on the more glamorous Middle Ages and the struggle for independence in the nineteenth century. Hence, in several cases, some of the twenty-four contributors to the *History* had to start practically from scratch. The editors of this volume are well aware of some of the problems. In the introduction they have pointed out that the availability of material has influenced the length and value of contributions and that some of the controversies that divide Yugoslav historians are reflected in the *History*. This survey's chief value is that it provides a convenient summary of the work done and the conclusions reached by specialists working under considerable difficulties in a Communist state. Detailed bibliographies accompany each chapter.

University of Manitoba

IVAN AVAKUMOVIC

THE REIGN OF DUKE JAMES IN COURLAND, 1638–1682. By Alexander V. Berkis. (Lincoln, Nebr.: Vaidava. 1960. Pp. ix, 213.) The career of Courland's most

illustrious duke is chronicled in detail for the first time in English. During the 1640's and 1650's the greatly ambitious and energetic James brought his small duchy (then under Poland's suzerainty, today a part of Soviet Latvia) to the pinnacle of its domestic development and international prestige. Like his brother-in-law, the Great Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia, Duke James worked hard to improve his realm through the implementation of mercantilistic policies. Unlike the Great Elector, he did not accompany these reforms with the organization of an effective army. As a result, the Polish-Swedish war of 1655-1660 seriously hurt Courland's economy and proved ruinous to her prestige abroad, while the war aided Brandenburg-Prussia's ascent to great power status. Writing from a viewpoint highly sympathetic to James, Berkis draws on available primary and secondary sources to describe the waxing and waning of Courland in the mid-seventeenth century. The book gains additional value from the information presented on the Duke's relation to Poland, to the Courlandian nobles, to the Latvian peasants, and to the Church. At times the study is necessarily incomplete and fragmentary. Unfortunately, the author's style does not contribute to the readability of his account.

Hollins College

WALTER S. HANCHETT

OSTPREUSSEN UNTER POLNISCHER UND SOWJETISCHER VERWALTUNG. By *Rudolf Neumann*. [Ostdeutschland unter fremder Verwaltung, 1945-1955, herausgegeben vom Johann Gottfried Herder-Forschungsrat.] (Frankfurt am Main: Alfred Metzner Verlag. 1955. Pp. xv, 112. DM 7.80.) This is not a history but a compilation of available information on conditions, mainly economic and demographic, during the period 1945-1955 in what was once East Prussia and is now the *oblast* of Kaliningrad (Königsberg), USSR, and the *województwo* of Olsztyn (Allenstein), Poland. Most of the book is on the southern half of the old territory of the Teutonic Order and consists of scattered and sometimes unconvincing statistics and comments drawn mainly from Polish publications. The ten pages on the *oblast* of Kaliningrad are quite unenlightening on one of the least-known areas of the Soviet Union, where practically no Germans are left. All place names have been changed, and the maps and lists of place names are of special importance. In southern East Prussia, 80 per cent of the population consists of newly settled Poles, most of them from central Poland but some from the areas ceded to the Soviet Union and from other places. The remaining fifth, many of them Masurians, are rapidly being Polanized. The Poles have been more interested in the other and richer areas acquired from Germany, and in many ways our generation has truly witnessed the *finis Borussiae*.

University of California, Riverside

ERNST EKMAN

PETER THE GREAT: EMPEROR OF ALL RUSSIA. By *Ian Grey*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1960. Pp. 505. \$7.50.) This is one of several biographical studies of Russia's Peter the Great that have appeared in English in recent years. The author has attempted to portray Peter and his reign "afresh," for he believes that apart from B. H. Sumner's excellent but brief account of Peter written in 1950 no worth-while study has been written on the Czar in English since that of Eugene Schuyler in 1884. Grey has gone about his task more carefully than some of his predecessors. He has used the large printed documentary collections that relate to Peter's reign, read the classic works of Solov'ev, Ustrialov, Kliuchevskii, and Bogoslovskii, and consulted travel accounts, monographs, and articles that are pertinent to his subject. But his brief bibliography with its omission of many well-known titles and the sketchy chapter notes quickly inform the reader that this is not a serious reappraisal of Peter so much as an attempt to write a more satisfactory biography than has thus far appeared.

The account of Peter's reign is comprehensive and well organized. The portrait of the Czar is not a new one, but it has been enlivened with brighter hues. Peter has returned as a restless, gifted giant, a misunderstood taskmaster who, appearances to the contrary, was lovable, humble, selfless, and uncorrupted by power. The treatment of his family, friends, servitors, the *streltsy*, the clergy, and the thousands of Russian subjects who perished miserably in his service was due not so much to personal barbarism as to the cruelty of the age. Even the Czar's private life loses some of the sordidness dealt it by less kindly biographers. As an interpreter of a momentous period in Russian history, Grey has yielded occasionally to the temptation of many Western writers to oversimplify complex issues and to assign characteristics to Russian leaders that are not justified. To say, for instance, that Russian expansion to the Black Sea was a clear objective of Moscow from the time of Ivan III and that Muscovy remained weak and thwarted in her national aspirations throughout the seventeenth century are statements that require modification. On one page Peter is admired for his dedicated service to his people; on other pages, however, he is hardly conscious of his people and is "inhuman" in dealing with them. There are other assertions that need qualification. As a popular account of Peter's reign this book will attract many readers. As history it is less satisfactory, and the inference that it is a work of sound scholarship is a pretension.

University of California, Davis

C. B. O'BRIEN

NEAR EAST

THE BOOK OF GOVERNMENT OR RULES FOR KINGS: THE SIYĀSAT-NĀMA OR SIYAR AL-MULŪK. By *Nizām al-Mulḳ*. Translated from the Persian by *Hubert Darke*. [Rare Masterpieces of Philosophy and Science.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 259. \$5.00.) *Nizām al-Mulḳ*'s advice to his master, the Seljuk sultan Malikshah, is the most notable specimen of a popular Near Eastern literary form. Coming from the critical eleventh century, the book exemplifies that Islamization of the pre-Islamic Persian culture which brought to a close one of the recurrent conflicts of early Islamic history. At the same time, it bears testimony to the importance of the later Shi'ite-Sunnite struggle. More than this, the Seljuk vizier was concerned with a mode of governance that both antedated and survived him. His reflections should be read by all who seek understanding of Islamic history, remote or recent. Darke made the translation from his own revised edition of the Persian text. His annotation makes the book as useful to the general reader as to the specialist.

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

INDUSTRIALIZATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. By *Kurt Grunwald* and *Joachim O. Ronall*. (New York: Council for Middle Eastern Affairs Press. 1960. Pp. xx, 394. \$7.00.) The stated object of this study, "To analyze the forces pressing towards industrial growth [in the Middle East] and to map out the positions so far attained," is reasonably well accomplished, though often at a fairly superficial level and with the impression of piecing together scraps of material from miscellaneous printed sources rather than firsthand investigation. Perhaps this is an inevitable weakness from trying to cover so many countries with diverse industrial histories, policies, and current situations. (The Middle East is defined for purposes of this study to include the Arabic-speaking countries as far as Libya to the west, together with Israel, Turkey, Cyprus, Iran, Sudan, Afghanistan, and Ethiopia.) As compensation, the book offers a quick

view of industrialization trends in the region. Section one discusses the region's human, natural, and monetary resources, communications, types of industrialization policy, and financing institutions for industrialization. Section two devotes a chapter to each country, sketching the beginnings of industrialization and of industrialization policy, the kinds of industries that have appeared, legislation and governmental attitudes, social conditions, and the outlook for industrial development.

Stanford Research Institute

EUGENE STALEY

FAR EAST

FORT WILLIAM-INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY PAPERS RELATING THERETO. Public Series, Volume XIII, 1796-1800. Edited by *P. C. Gupta*. [Indian Records Series.] (Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, for the National Archives of India. 1959. Pp. xli, 593. Rs. 24.00.) This volume advances the plan of the National Archives of India to print the public dispatches together with "separate revenue" and "law" letters exchanged between the East India Company's Court of Directors in London and their Governor-General and Council in Bengal. Dr. Gupta of the University of Calcutta has provided a very succinct and informative introduction and notes. The value of the introduction is enhanced by his practice of giving a brief résumé of the background regarding many topics (e.g., salt, opium, private trade) rather than confining himself merely to the years 1796-1800 covered by the documents he is editing. These important years include the spread of the French Revolutionary Wars to India, the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan, and the inauguration by Wellesley of a policy of expansion and empire building. With respect to this volume and its predecessors in the series, these public dispatches could be more closely edited without sacrificing the interests either of the general reader or the specialist. There remain considerable amounts of trivia and verbiage that would never be missed. The printing of each dispatch immediately before the reply to it would, despite the violation of chronological order, be a help to the researcher. Such a method would have the added advantage of reducing printing costs by enabling replies to appear without including the summary of numerous paragraphs noted as "requiring no reply." This could have been indicated in the dispatch to which the reply relates.

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

DR. JUDD, HAWAII'S FRIEND: A BIOGRAPHY OF GERRIT PARMELE JUDD (1803-1873). By *Gerrit P. Judd IV*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1960. Pp. vi, 300. \$7.00.) A definitive biography of G. P. Judd, who was one of the most important and controversial figures in the history of the Hawaiian monarchy, has long been needed. For nearly a dozen years (1842-1853) Judd, a medical missionary who arrived in Hawaii in 1828, was the most influential man in the islands. He served King Kamehameha III as adviser, translator, foreign minister, and finally as minister of finance in a cabinet that he dominated. He worked tirelessly, selflessly, and well for the little kingdom whose native leaders respected and trusted him. Most of his critics were foreigners, including the official representatives of the United States, Great Britain, and France, who resented not only his defending the natives but the arrogant way in which he did it. He was consistently vindicated when specific charges were made against him. Judd's great-grandson has made an exhaustive search for new materials with some success. Where he has failed to use known material it was usually under

circumstances beyond his control. Where bias might be expected he has leaned over backward in his effort to be fair and impartial. In a number of instances he has presented contemporary criticisms without comment and has refrained from citing equally convincing statements in explanation or defense. On the other hand, the Hawaiian background (1828-1873), although reasonably accurate, is necessarily sketchy. Professor Judd is not a student of Hawaiian history, and as a result some of his general conclusions are of at least doubtful validity. It was not true, for example, that in the Paulet affair of 1843 "the Hawaiian government almost lost its independence." Again, it was William L. Lee, not Robert C. Wyllie, who played the leading role in Judd's final dismissal from the cabinet in 1853. These critical comments take nothing away from the soundness of the biography.

University of Hawaii

CHARLES H. HUNTER

CEYLON: DILEMMAS OF A NEW NATION. By *W. Howard Wriggins*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 505. \$10.00.) To most Americans Ceylon means tea. In recent years it has invited the attention of a few to its position in international affairs. The academic world has paid little attention. Now, however, we have a profound study of the new nation of Ceylon done by an American scholar. This is not an introduction. It is so definitive as to preclude the necessity for any further work of its kind. The student would do well to consult Argus John Tresidder's *Ceylon: An Introduction to the "Resplendent Land"* before working into this volume. Mr. Wriggins' study covers the historical and social background, the economic conditions, the evolution of the constitution prior and subsequent to independence, the political parties, the position of religious groups, cultural influences, the Tamilian and linguistic communal struggle, foreign policy, and Ceylon's position in the Asian community of nations. Chapter xi, which covers this last subject, is incidentally an excellent study of all the Asian nation conferences, beginning with the first held in New Delhi in 1947. Wriggins' most brilliant analyses concern the political situation, the economy, and the communal distress. The most confusing section was unfortunately his "Conclusion: An Asian Political Society." Perhaps this is because he was dealing with the general rather than the specific. The most striking truths that emerge from the work are the economic dependence of this island republic, its susceptibility to leftist political thought, and a deficiency of vigor in planning and development. A very good bibliography and an adequate index complete this very informative volume.

Washington, D. C.

HORACE I. POLEMAN

UNITED STATES

AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY. By *Robert H. Bremner*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. vii, 230. \$4.50.) How better to describe this book than in the words of its author, "a survey of voluntary activity in the fields of charity, religion, education, humanitarian reform, social service, war relief, and foreign aid. It deals with representative donors, whether of money or service, with promoters of moral and social reform, and with the various institutions and associations Americans have founded to conduct their philanthropic business." Starting with the Indians who welcomed Columbus and Squanto who taught the Pilgrims at Plymouth in the starving winter of 1620-1621 "how to set their corn, where to take fish, and to procure other commodities," Bremner takes the reader through a succession of philanthropists and philanthropies to the givers and

giving of today, from Cotton Mather to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., from Benjamin Franklin to the Ford Foundation, from Stephen Girard and Dorothea Dix to CARE and the March of Dimes. His method is descriptive—a quick, running account of the ideas and vagaries, good deeds and social reforms of American benefactors and philanthropic institutions. He lists 127 “important dates,” 1601–1959, and includes a valuable appendix of annotated reading. The book, as Bremner points out, is not encyclopedic. It is what he intended it to be, a pleasant narrative, seasoned with humorous comments, briefly but interestingly treating its principal persons and subjects. It should serve teacher and student as a springboard for further study of individuals, institutions, and movements. A reading of this book and the growing interest of historians in the social services and related subjects suggest a project for the Committee on the History of Social Welfare, of which Bremner is chairman, namely, a definition and delineation of each of the interlocking but separate fields of philanthropy, social work, and social welfare. Bremner’s *American Philanthropy* should be a means of bringing more recruits to one of the most timely and fascinating fields of historical study.
Washington, D. C.

KARL DE SCHWEINITZ

AMERICANS AT WAR: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN MILITARY SYSTEM. By T. Harry Williams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 138. \$3.50.) T. Harry Williams is so intimately associated with the Civil War that one often forgets that he, like many others who are tagged as specialists, has equal competence in other areas as well. Among these is the study of military history, particularly of the United States, a subject that Williams has been teaching at Louisiana State University for many years. It is with this subject that the present volume deals. *Americans at War* is a small book and consists of three chapters that are substantially the three J. P. Young Lectures in American History, which the author gave at Memphis State University in October 1956. In these lectures he set himself the ambitious task of describing the means by which Americans have raised and directed their military forces in peace and war from the Revolution to World War II. To cover so much time and such a wide range of topics systematically or in any detail was obviously out of the question, and Williams chose to be highly selective and interpretative, treating only the major themes of American military policy and omitting military operations altogether. As lectures, they are excellent; in book form, they constitute a highly readable, stimulating, fast-paced narrative, marked by keen insights and broad generalization. In them, Williams demonstrates his broad grasp of military institutions, an appreciation of the traditional role of the military in American life, and a high degree of literary skill. The three chapters survey the entire American military experience. The first covers the eighty-five years from the outbreak of the Revolution to the eve of the Civil War in forty pages, a remarkable condensation but one that necessarily leaves large gaps and permits only a cursory examination of even the most important problems. The second chapter is devoted entirely to the Civil War, which is the only war that receives extended treatment. Here Williams is on ground he has traveled often before, and his succinct account of the military systems of the North and South is one of the best on the subject. The final essay, like the first, covers a long time span (seventy-five years) and is a broad survey of military policy from the close of the Civil War to the outbreak of World War II. The emphasis here is on the breakdown of the command system established during the Civil War (which Williams believes to be the best developed in the United States) and the efforts by Secretary Root and others to build a military organization adequate to meet the needs of modern warfare. A brief concluding section takes the story down to the post-World War II period and closes with the thought that political leaders might well profit from a knowledge of

American military traditions and experience. It would be too much to expect so brief a book on so large a subject to satisfy everyone. The omissions are large, the generalizations broad, and the interpretations debatable. One could raise questions about emphasis and balance and about the absence of war itself in a book dealing with Americans at war, but this is an excellent survey of a subject that has generally been neglected by American historians and one that will prove a most helpful aid to teachers.

Dartmouth College

LOUIS MORTON

AMERICAN IMMIGRATION. By *Maldwyn Allen Jones*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. Pp. vii, 359. \$6.00.) This readable survey of the history of American immigration should prove a very useful book. Written for a general audience, scholarly but nontechnical, it is based on the latest research in the field and provides many a suggestive insight. Professor Jones sees the newcomers as both emigrants and immigrants, and he devotes considerable space to the motives that induced them to come to America. He believes that fewer came for political reasons than is generally assumed, and that of those who came for economic reasons more came because they feared a future loss of status than because of immediate necessity. There existed a close correlation between business cycle and immigration, with the latter increasing in times of prosperity and falling off sharply during economic crises. Thus immigrants were not a major cause of unemployment nor did they tend to depress wages. If their wage levels were low, it was because most of them entered the poorer-paid occupations. Politically they were conservatives rather than liberals or radicals; they had a strong impact on domestic politics, but only a rather limited one on foreign policy. Culturally their most significant, if unwitting, contribution may well have been the acceptance by this country of the principle of religious liberty. As Jones suggests, freedom of religion was adopted in most colonies, not primarily as a political ideal, but in answer to the necessity of accommodating a growing variety of religious beliefs. To the professional historian these may not be striking revelations, but he will welcome this stimulating guide to a major aspect of American history for classroom use.

Ohio State University

ANDREAS DORPALEN

AMERICAN LABOR. By *Henry Pelling*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. Pp. vi, 247. \$5.00.) This volume provides as good a brief summary of the history of American labor as one could wish for. Because of its brevity, the specialist will often find himself wishing for more on this or that subject, but considering the limitations imposed on so complex a subject, Mr. Pelling has maintained a remarkable balance. He has included almost everything in good proportion. The volume's primary virtue is its literary quality. Both in organization and in expression, it is superior. It will be valuable to the undergraduate, or even to the more advanced student. The reader must not expect any very novel interpretations. Pelling has, as the editor's preface suggests, treated the history of labor as an integral part of the general history of the American people, showing the influence of economic, political, and social change, and (with somewhat less success) of certain intellectual currents upon the working class. I am far from certain that the "humanitarian" movements of the 1840's were as completely grafted upon the labor organizations by outsiders as Pelling believes, but this is clearly debatable ground. The author finds certain distinctive factors in the national experience that have had a formative effect on the American labor movement. The list contains no surprises, high wage levels, the predominance of agriculture in the economy until recent times, geographic size and diversity, ethnic and racial variety, and class mobility, but Pelling's

skill in using these factors to explain events is delightful. Some of his paragraphs approach the crispness and artfulness of the epigram.

Baltimore, Maryland

JOHN PHILIP HALL

TREATIES AND EXECUTIVE AGREEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES: THEIR SEPARATE ROLES AND LIMITATIONS. By *Elbert M. Byrd, Jr.* With a foreword by *Elmer Plischke*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1960. Pp. x, 276. 21 Glds.) This short book undertakes the considerable task of distinguishing between the types of international agreements employed by our government and of bounding their proper uses and legal limits. Contending that ignorance and misunderstanding of these subjects helped to produce the unlamented Bricker amendment and may generate future attempts to curtail the federal government's vital foreign policy powers, the author has evolved a corrective, a "legal formula," to define the forms of international agreements and their characteristics. This "formula" is the product of an elaborate historical analysis of constitutional and diplomatic materials. Dr. Byrd demonstrates that the provisions of the Constitution, apparently plain and clear, are actually complex and even contradictory, and their interpretation requires the use of numerous and varied extrinsic materials. The most important materials include the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention and state ratifying conventions, the *Federalist Papers* and other writings of the founding fathers and their contemporaries, treaties made or approved by the same men and demonstrating the foreign policy powers they intended to bestow upon the national government, and numerous Supreme Court decisions bearing on the subject. From this conglomerate, Byrd has chosen the materials for his tightly fitted formula of definition and limitation. His complex analysis defies adequate description in this limited review, but some significant conclusions may be noted. The author contends that the federal government is divided into four, not three, branches, and the fourth is the treaty-making agency. There are three basic types of international agreements: treaties, congressional-executive agreements, and presidential or executive agreements. Since senators in their treaty-approving role are ambassadors from their states with plenary powers, the treaty alone can invade states' rights and must be used where such intrusion is involved. Where possible, however, the congressional-executive agreement, involving the legislative branch, should be employed in preference to the other two forms. Byrd has succeeded in his proclaimed purpose of defining the types, uses, and limitations of international agreements. He has given us a generally well-written and closely reasoned book and his conclusions, while not always revelations, are ingenious and persuasive. Undoubtedly the volume increases our knowledge and precision in a difficult and important field and makes a significant contribution to students of political science and American diplomatic history.

Wisconsin State College, Eau Claire

DONALD F. WARNER

PARTIES AND POLITICS IN AMERICA. By *Clinton Rossiter*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1960. Pp. vii, 205. \$2.85.) Fifty years ago, in a gentler time than ours, the publishers of a modest book like this one might have entitled it "An Intelligent Woman's Guide to American Political Parties." This volume, as Professor Rossiter states at the outset, is an introduction to the subject. As such, it is eminently satisfactory, indeed a good candidate for soft covers and a reduced price. The author draws upon much of what able political scientists have written. His fluent prose lends persuasion to unsurprising conclusions about the functions and make-up of the major parties, their similarities and differences, their utility and shortcomings, and the kinds of changes that would convert them to more effective vehicles for democratic government. Interpreting both parties as at once coalitions and brokers of multiple interests,

Rossiter finds the Democrats stronger, more vulgar, and more committed to social reform, public spending, and internationalism. He does not consider third parties to have been or to be "especially important." Though he would like the major parties to develop clearer differences of principle and more responsibility and discipline, he views politics as the art of the possible, a condition with which he is clearly content. His excursions into history, perforce brief, are superficial, but his use of quantitative documentation, while also limited by space, is apt. He has nothing new to say to professional historians, but his graceful essay will educate and entertain beginning undergraduates.

Yale University

JOHN M. BLUM

QUAKERS AND THE ATLANTIC CULTURE. By *Frederick B. Tolles*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1960. Pp. xiii, 160. \$3.95.) This slender volume presents a unifying synthesis that is a fitting consequent of the author's more specialized books. He singles out equality, simplicity, community, and peace as basic Quaker values. The early chapters emphasize the transatlantic sense of community, diminished temporarily only by nineteenth-century nationalism. The spirit of community tempered religious and economic individualism, and the Friends maintained a durable cohesion and gentle discipline despite decentralization. Austere aesthetic tastes were related to the values on equality and simplicity. The sections on capitalism, science, and the Great Awakening should be read by students of Puritanism in order to appreciate what was not unique for either group. Discussing the "Protestant ethic," Professor Tolles bares the tension between religious ethics and economic individualism. Respect for practical reason and empiricism is presented as a clue to the hospitality toward science in Philadelphia. Opposed to elaborate theology, especially predestination, Friends exhibited not just a middle-class, but a Quaker, recoil from terrorizing preachment of damnation. The political chapter studies patterns of political behavior rather than issues or political theory. The Quaker absolutist followed conscience and refused to compromise. The relativist, a Penn or Bright, recognized that to gain an immediate end, one must yield something. At times the insistence on principle led "quietist" Quakers to withdraw from officeholding. Tolles calls the most distinctive Quaker posture in politics "the prophetic stance" or "role of divine lobbyist"—a response to the inner call to "speak Truth to power," as when Rufus Jones in 1938 interceded for the Jews before the chiefs of the *Gestapo*. The author indicates that by internationalism and a "prophetic role" Quakers have always had something to offer in a divided world. Just as they were never overimpressed by theology, so they were never overimpressed by ideology. The Quaker impulse toward "brotherhood, social justice, and community responsibility" marks a middle road that avoids the weaknesses of both capitalism and Communism. Various of the luminous chapters have appeared in articles. Their collection here is a service to the profession.

Wesleyan University

SAMUEL HUGH BROCKUNIER

ARMY EXPLORATION IN THE AMERICAN WEST, 1803-1863. By *William H. Goetzmann*. [Yale Publications in American Studies, IV.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1959. Pp. xx, 509. \$6.50.) The author states in his first chapter that the subject of army exploration has been neglected by historians, and he therefore offers this study to fill the gap. Historians have concerned themselves with mountain men, isolated operators such as Pike, and other unofficial personnel who for various reasons traveled through the West and contributed to our knowledge about it. This assertion hardly carries all that the author would like to have it bear, and the eleven-page annotated bibliography is testimony to the obvious fact that historians have had a deep

interest in the subject. It is difficult to brush aside W. Stull Holt's *The Office of the Chief of Engineers of the Army* (1923), Edward Wallace's *The Great Reconnaissance* (1955), William Turrentine Jackson's *Wagon Roads West* (1952), and a host of biographies on such explorers as Frémont, official reports such as John Russell Bartlett's *Personal Narratives . . .* (1854), and dozens of articles like Carl Wheat's "Mapping the American West, 1540 to 1857," which appeared in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*. It can hardly be said that historians have neglected the field, though it can be said that no historian has attempted to assess this voluminous literature and present it in a readable and meaningful form. The reader will find himself in familiar territory as he reads about such western surveys as Frémont's, but may find that the chapter on "War and Western Exploration" takes him to a newer land. This book is divided into three parts: army explorations between 1776 and 1842, between 1842 and 1854, and from 1854 to 1863. In general it is a record of the Topographical Engineers between its creation in 1838 and its incorporation into the Corps of Engineers in 1863. The Topographical Engineers, says the author, was the "central institution of Manifest Destiny" and did the "first scientific mapping of the West." West Point trained the men who staked the expanding boundaries, mapped the passes, and functioned as a "department of public works for the West." The appendixes include the officer roster of the corps, "Notes on Mapping Techniques," and "G. H. Warren's Method of Compiling the Map of 1857." Five original maps are reproduced, and each section has its own excellent illustrative maps. A few pictures and a complete bibliographical essay further add to this synthesis which charts few trails itself but which is the most convenient form in which western exploration has ever been told.

Wisconsin State College, River Falls

WALKER D. WYMAN

LINCOLN DAY BY DAY: A CHRONOLOGY, 1809-1865. Volume I, 1809-1848; Volume II, 1849-1860. By William E. Baringer. Earl Schenck Miers, Editor in Chief. (Washington, D. C.: Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission. 1960. Pp. xx, 327; viii, 305. \$2.00; \$2.00.) For years the "day-by-day" series has been one of the most useful tools available to Lincoln scholars. These four volumes, compiled by successive secretaries of the Abraham Lincoln Association, Paul M. Angle, Benjamin P. Thomas, and Harry E. Pratt, and published between 1933 and 1941, gave a chronological log of Lincoln's life from his birth to his inauguration as President in 1861. Invaluable for locating Lincoln's whereabouts on any given day, for ascertaining the authenticity of reputed Lincoln texts and anecdotes, and for tracing the details of Lincoln's legal and political career, the "day-by-day" books have long been a standard tool of Civil War writers. Inevitably, however, with the discovery of new Lincoln documents, especially in the Herndon-Weik collection and in the Robert Todd Lincoln collection, and with the publication in 1953 of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, which almost doubled the number of known compositions from Lincoln's pen, the "day-by-day" books came to be increasingly out of date. It was, therefore, good news for all scholars when the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission undertook as one of its major projects the revision and enlargement of the series. The present two volumes, compiled by William E. Baringer under the general editorship of Earl Schenck Miers, cover the same period as the Angle, Thomas, and Pratt chronologies; a promised third volume will log the Civil War years. Though not so conveniently arranged as their predecessors and though lacking an index (a deficiency which, however, may be remedied in the third volume), the present volumes are in all other respects a great improvement. With unostentatious scholarship they correct a number of errors that crept into the earlier books; the chronology of Lincoln's participation in the Black Hawk War, for example, is substantially revised upon the basis of new documents recently catalogued

at the Illinois State Historical Library. More important, they greatly expand the coverage of the earlier volumes. For instance, when Harry E. Pratt compiled the Lincoln chronology for 1845, he was able to list Lincoln's activities on only 150 days of the year; in Baringer's edition there are entries for forty-five additional days and, besides, there are substantial additions to the entries for forty-three other days. Baringer's estimate that this "revision contains approximately twice as much material as the original" appears to be entirely justified. While much of this new material is not of major significance—many items deal with Lincoln's expenditures on his buggy, which seemed never to stay in repair, and with Mrs. Lincoln's purchases of such items as " $\frac{3}{8}$ yard swiss muslin for 37¢, pair of shoes (75¢), and two dozen silk buttons (63¢)"—the result is to give us a closer, more precise, and more intimate picture of the Lincolns. The editors of these volumes have entirely realized their objective of producing "a research tool indispensable to future generations of students."

Princeton University

DAVID DONALD

GEORGE CALEB BINGHAM: RIVER PORTRAITIST. By *John Francis McDermott*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1959. Pp. xxviii, 454. \$15.00.) George Caleb Bingham (1811-1879) belongs with a handful of nineteenth-century artists who interpreted the developing frontier on canvas and sketch pad. First characterized as a genre painter who achieved no real success, Bingham won slight recognition during his life, his pictures were not sought by museums, his marvelous representations of jolly flatboat men and other scenes of Missouri River life were judged fit for tavern barrooms. Indeed, the portraitist was such an unknown that biographers found difficulty reconstructing his life and frequently mixed facts with fancy. Not until 1917 did a historian investigate and publish on this Missouri artist. Today, as the result of Professor McDermott's patient researches, Bingham emerges not only as a western artist of significance but also as an outstanding contributor to American painting. This book corrects previous biographical errors, adds new information concerning Bingham's personal life and professional career, comments upon his concept of art, and evaluates him as a portrait painter, landscape painter, historical painter, and as a draftsman and genre painter. McDermott says without reservation that Bingham's paintings of western life in his own time have become the "finest of historical work, for they form a vivid record of a way of life that existed and has ceased to exist." Certainly, no one who has seen, for example, "Fur Traders Descending the Missouri" or "Boatmen on the Missouri" or "The Squatters" would deny this assertion. There is in these and other of the artist's works authentic representation, sharp observation, and precision of drawing. Fortunately, both author and publisher saw the wisdom of reproducing Bingham's paintings, drawings, and sketches in this volume of handsome format, thus making it a book to be treasured. A fragment of the artist's autobiography and his essay on art are reprinted. A detailed chronology guides the reader through the details of a much-traveled career, and a meticulous checklist, including both extant and lost works, is an invaluable aid. Reviewers all too frequently speak of a book as a "distinguished" contribution. In this instance McDermott, already skilled in the history of frontier art, most certainly is entitled to unqualified praise not only for producing a scholarly and superior volume marked, in every instance, by judicious investigation, complete documentation, and graceful presentation, but also for demonstrating the vital role of "minor" artists who did so much to preserve essential facets of a commoner's culture.

University of Minnesota

PHILIP D. JORDAN

THE AMERICAN CIVIL ENGINEER: ORIGINS AND CONFLICT. By *Daniel Hovey Calhoun*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press, Massachusetts Institute of Tech-

nology; distrib. by Harvard University Press, 1960. Pp. xiv, 295. \$5.50.) This study makes an excellent start in exploring a subject on which surprisingly little has been written. Mr. Calhoun's voluminous and accurate information is based on published records of organizations employing or training civil engineers and supplemented by unpublished papers of a few important engineers or their employers. The author clearly realizes that facts do not necessarily speak for themselves, but should be selected and arranged to answer a set of questions or general propositions. This awareness of such social science concepts as role and status permits him to be fairly precise in his questions and the analysis based on them. Even so, the descriptive detail occasionally obscures and confuses the analyses. The book's major theme is convincingly presented. It is that as the need for engineering skills grew, the "organizational" engineer began to dominate the young profession. Before 1816 self-trained surveyors, architects, and builders, together with a few professionals imported from Europe, could meet the limited demands for these skills. With the widespread construction of canals and railroads, the need for trained engineers became acute. On-the-job training, particularly in the New York canal system, and the beginning of academic courses, primarily at West Point, provided a trained nucleus for the new profession. Because the larger canals and railroads employed a sizable share of the profession and because they were the first economic enterprises in this country big enough to be organized along hierarchical lines, more and more engineers had to climb the organizational ladder. By the 1840's those who could work effectively within such an administrative structure were replacing the independent engineer who drew his authority from scientific talents and training rather than from a bureaucratic position. The definition of the engineer's role did not come easily or automatically, but was shaped through controversy and conflict. Engineers disputed and debated with each other, their employers, and the public. It is in describing and analyzing these controversies that the book is least effective. It is here that Calhoun relies too heavily on illustrative case studies and occasionally forgets that details do not necessarily speak for themselves. In spite of such occasional lapses, this book presents a very useful analysis of the beginning of a profession so essential to the operation of modern industrial society. As such, it not only adds much to the understanding of the American past, but provides a model for greatly needed comparable studies of other professions.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ALFRED D. CHANDLER, JR.

JOURNEY TO AMERICA. By *Alexis de Tocqueville*. Edited by J. P. Mayer. Translated by *George Lawrence*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960. Pp. 394. \$6.50.) The fourteen notebooks in which Alexis de Tocqueville recorded his impressions of Jacksonian America should be classified under the history of ideas rather than as travel diaries. Here for the first time many of the germinal notions of Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* appear in a complete English translation. The diaries pinpoint names and record views of distinguished Americans to whom Tocqueville was indebted for many of the ideas which his gifted mind was to assimilate, adapt, develop, and transform into his great classic. The young Tocqueville found a pattern in democratic practices, but he also found paradoxes. He was baffled to discover that the most independent people in the world had an unsolved race problem and he was completely disappointed on first meeting a group of Indians whom the white men had debased so that they resembled the riffraff of a European city rather than the "noble savage" of the American forest. He was surprised to note that in states where Negroes were enfranchised fear of hostility hindered them from using their right to vote or prevented their children from attending the very school they paid taxes to maintain. Many Americans were concerned with morality, but few were interested in dogma. The government

neither supported nor persecuted any religious group. Both Protestants and the Catholics with whom he discussed separation of church and state agreed that in the United States religion prospered without government influence. On the other hand, Tocqueville was impressed by the independent judiciary, the jury system, and the right whereby our courts may refuse to apply a law they judge unconstitutional. He was convinced that under a government that appeared to be "passive and powerless" the enlightened middle class was successfully conducting the nation's affairs. He doubted that we would ever succeed in the then untried field of foreign policy. Of one thing he was certain, our Constitution was not for export. The notebooks are what Tocqueville intended them to be: diverse, selective, disconnected memoranda. His style is plain, except for the brief account of his visit to Quebec and his somewhat longer "Fortnight in the Wilderness." The latter selections reveal that Tocqueville was influenced by the French romantics. Lawrence's translation is a faithful one with few errors, and as such is a welcome addition to source material. The general reader, however, will still rely on George W. Pierson's *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* for a critical study, and the serious student of Tocqueville will use Tocqueville's *Voyages en Sicile et aux États-Unis*.
Trinity College, Washington, D. C. MARY LAWLOR, S.N.D.

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY AND THE WORKING CLASS: A STUDY OF THE NEW YORK WORKINGMEN'S MOVEMENT, 1829-1837. By *Walter Hugins*. [Stanford Studies in History, Economics, and Political Science, Number 19.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1960. Pp. vi, 286. \$6.00.) A considerable and controversial body of literature has grown up in the last few years around the Workingmen's movement and its relation to Jacksonian Democracy. With this literature before him, Professor Hugins has gone to the sources to give us a complete and dispassionate study that is a necessity for students of the age of Jackson. Analysis of newspaper accounts of their meetings shows that those who made up the Workingmen's party, which became the Equal Rights party and finally as Locofocos merged with the northern Democracy after the panic of 1837, were artisans, craftsmen, tradesmen, and a handful of professionals. The building trades accounted for the largest single group, with food and beverages, house furnishings, and the metal trades close behind. They were neither "labor" nor "middle class" as those terms came to be used a few years later, but somewhere between the two. Their program followed naturally from their identity. They wanted a mechanics lien law to protect building trades workers against the common practice of withholding part of their pay; they wanted to abolish imprisonment for debt, and to exclude the competition of prison-made goods; they wanted free public schools. Above all they opposed monopoly in all its forms, including that represented by the Bank of the United States. When their strength became great enough to turn an election either way in New York City, the Democrats adopted enough of the program to win the bulk of the workingmen to their standard. Thus through the powerful New York Democracy the Workingmen's movement influenced Jacksonian policies. Hugins rounds out his meaty volume with biographical sketches of leaders of the workingmen, the best-known being George Henry Evans, Robert Dale Owen, Fitzwilliam Byrdsall who chronicled the party's history, and William Leggett of the influential *Evening Post*. Occupational statistics are conveniently tabulated.
Washington, D. C. CHARLES M. WILTSE

THE GREAT COMMAND: THE STORY OF MARCUS AND NARCISSA WHITMAN AND THE OREGON COUNTRY PIONEERS. By *Nard Jones*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1960. Pp. xiv, 398. \$5.00.) Historians should pay more attention to books like *The Great Command*. It is not a scholarly biography; footnotes

are sparse, and most of the facts and interpretations can be found elsewhere. Nard Jones frankly admits to leaning heavily, for example, on the works of Clifford M. Drury and the Hulberts. He has made a wide survey of the sources and has incorporated half a lifetime of interest, but the chief strength of Jones's book is its literary craftsmanship. He has admirably told the boiling story of the Oregon missions, of the conflict between Marcus Whitman and Henry Spalding, of the love turned to hatred that Spalding felt for Narcissa Whitman, and of the barriers between the wives. These and the later missionary families were devoted servants of God's great command to teach all nations, but they were also symbols of the extremes to which individualistic Protestantism can lead. In contrast to the Protestant doxologies and the mission's painted kitchen, walk the Jesuit black robes, unencumbered with families, and proving far more attractive to the Indians. Although the Protestant missions were an important political wedge, Jones sees them as a failure in their primary task, and therein lies the basic tragedy. These conclusions are based on convincing evidence, yet Jones always interests the reader in ways that many a historian with longer footnotes might emulate.

University of California, Riverside

ROBERT V. HINE

THE MEXICAN WAR. By *Otis A. Singletary*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. vii, 181. \$3.75.) Professor Singletary has written in brief compass a sound, readable, even provocative account of the Mexican War. He assesses judiciously the strengths and weaknesses of Zachary Taylor as a commander, hedging only on the highly questionable armistice that Old Rough and Ready granted the defeated and demoralized Mexican army at Monterrey. More than most writers, he appreciates the brilliance of Winfield Scott's achievements in the Mexico City campaign, though space does not permit him to go very far toward explaining it. He is at his best in two analytical chapters, one treating frictions within the American forces (between competing officers, between army and navy, and between regulars and volunteers), and the other discussing the inevitable conflicts between President Polk and his military commanders. Singletary understands especially well the political necessities that caused the President to see things differently from his generals, but in my perhaps biased judgment, he exaggerates the extent to which Polk was motivated by narrow partisan considerations and underrates his contribution to the planning and logistical operations on which American military successes were based. For various reasons, only some of them inherent in his character, Polk was not highly respected by his contemporaries. Singletary has merely followed the established authorities in accepting too readily this contemporary estimate.

University of California, Berkeley

CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, JR.

PEN AND SWORD: THE LIFE AND JOURNALS OF RANDAL W. McGAVOCK. THE BIOGRAPHY, by *Herschel Gower*; THE EARLY JOURNALS, 1848-1851, edited by *Herschel Gower*; THE POLITICAL AND CIVIL WAR JOURNALS, 1853-1862, edited by *Jack Allen*. (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission. 1959. Pp. 695. \$6.50.) The background and career of Randal William McGavock were similar to those of many other pre-Civil War, upper-class southerners. In successive moves his Scotch-Irish ancestors crossed the Atlantic Ocean, the piedmont hills of Virginia, and the Appalachian Mountains to settle in the Cumberland Valley of Tennessee. By the date of McGavock's birth in 1829, his family was numbered among the socially and politically elite of Nashville. Study at home and graduation from local educational institutions preceded eighteen months at the Harvard Law School, and his educational experience was climaxed with an adventurous grand tour of Europe and the Arab Near East. On returning to Nashville, McGavock practiced law, was elected mayor of his

city, entered Confederate service as a captain, and died on the battlefield more than a month before the fall of Vicksburg. McGavock's unique contribution was a number of diaries: the Harvard journal, 1848; the European journal, 1851; the political journals, 1852-1860; and the Civil War journals, 1862. The longest of these are the political journals, but the diarist reached his peak in describing the events leading to and the eventual surrender of Forts Henry and Donelson. Many of the entries in his journals are no more than summaries of daily activities, but often and in good style he pens details that give insight into urban society in Tennessee, student life at Harvard, domestic and foreign travel, political and military affairs, the clash of ideas, and the boredom and discouragement of army service. Both editors have kept explanatory footnotes to the minimum necessary for the reader's understanding of events and personalities referred to in the journals. The summary biography fills the gaps in McGavock's life that are not covered by the journals, traces the migrations, economic activities, and social conditions of Scotch-Irish families in eighteenth-century America, and presents pen pictures of notable citizens of Virginia and Tennessee.

University of Florida

REMBERT W. PATRICK

THE MORMON CONFLICT, 1850-1859. By *Norman F. Furniss*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 72.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 311. \$5.00.) Mormon-Gentile contacts have been replete with conflicts. One of the most dramatic was the so-called Mormon War in 1858-1859. This work shows the political, religious, and other significant factors involved in this struggle between the federal government and the Church of Latter Day Saints. Hitherto we did not know why the Buchanan administration acted as it did. Furniss shows the political crosscurrents involved, personal ambitions, the repayment of political debts, irresponsible newspaper editorials, hysterical public opinion, and intransigence on both sides. The three sides involved, the two opposing factions plus the unfortunates who tried to make peace, receive sympathetic and fair treatment. Thus, Colonel Albert Sidney Johnson, anxious to teach the Mormons a lesson, is seen as a soldier conscientiously carrying out his orders. The Mormon leaders appear to be further out on a limb than they cared to be in defying the Washington administration. And Alfred Cumming and Thomas L. Kane of the government were in trouble when they sought to achieve peace by arbitration and diplomacy. Furniss disposes of the report that Secretary of War John B. Floyd had 1861 in mind when he sent part of the United States Army to the Far West before the southern attack on Fort Sumter. This study could well be used as a case history of war in general. The microcosm points out the fevers that become dominant, the hate, envy, courage, pomposity, perseverance, and accidents that bring on conflicts, and the difficulties that obstruct a satisfactory settlement at the close of hostilities. One of the cited quotations might be a fitting summary to this and to other wars, "wounded none, killed none, fooled everybody."

Miami University

W. J. McNIFF

THE HASKELL MEMOIRS. By *John Cheves Haskell*. Edited by *Gilbert E. Govan* and *James W. Livingood*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1960. Pp. xiv, 176. \$3.95.) This small volume of reminiscences, written by a gallant and literate soldier who lost an arm and several horses fighting for the Confederacy, is filled with good anecdotes. Colonel Haskell expressed his opinions easily. He believed that while West Point "gave us some great soldiers," it "also gave us some dummies," and handicapped the South generally. Lee was a victim, too; he had "an utterly undue regard for the value of the elementary teaching of West Point." Too often men were chosen for promotion automatically. He lamented that Lee "never discovered or encouraged a Forrest," and that,

when filling vacancies, he did so by selecting West Point men "in alphabetical order" rather than those who had been educated by "hard experience."

Remsenburg, New York

DONALD N. BIGELOW

LINCOLN IMAGES: AUGUSTANA COLLEGE CENTENNIAL ESSAYS. By *O. Fritiof Ander et al.* Edited by *O. Fritiof Ander*. [Augustana Library Publications, Number 29.] (Rock Island, Ill.: the Library. 1960. Pp. xiii, 161. \$3.95.) Twenty-five years ago, the *American Historical Review* published James G. Randall's challenging article "Has the Lincoln Theme Been Exhausted?" which presented an extensive agenda of problems still awaiting adequate scholarly treatment. One of the most interesting features of *Lincoln Images* is Clyde C. Walton's selective list of books and articles written since 1936, arranged according to the subjects of inquiry suggested by Randall. It is an impressive record of achievement, and in his accompanying essay Walton concludes that "almost all" of Randall's questions have now been answered. Yet he insists that the Lincoln theme remains unexhausted because the biggest "riddle," the source of Lincoln's towering greatness, still defies solution. In addition, Randall did not necessarily ask all the important questions, and some of the answers given may not be the right ones. The other essays in this volume illustrate some of the various ways that Lincoln can be studied. The complex story of his relations with Lyman Trumbull is ably told by Ralph J. Roske, and Robert M. Sutton offers an equally useful summary of his connections with the railroads of Illinois. In "Lincoln and the National Interest," Norman A. Graebner explains how he restrained his own idealism to practice "the art of the possible" both in foreign affairs and in handling the domestic crisis, and O. Fritiof Ander's "Lincoln and the Founders of Augustana College" is concerned less with its subject than with the contributions of Scandinavian immigrants to the success of the Republican party in Illinois. But scholars and general readers alike will probably value an admirable essay on the causes of the Civil War by T. Harry Williams. It begins with a brief survey of the major trends in interpretation and moves on to a discerning and lucid analysis of the problem. *Lincoln Images*, attractively printed and appropriately dedicated to Carl Sandburg, is a creditable addition to Lincoln literature.

Stanford University

D. E. FEHRENBACHER

CARP'S WASHINGTON. By *Frank G. Carpenter*. Arranged and edited by *Frances Carpenter*. Introduction by *Cleveland Amory*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1960. Pp. xv, 314. \$5.75.) Historians of American society in the 1880's have overlooked Frank G. Carpenter's fascinating column in the *Cleveland Leader*. Thanks to his authoress daughter, "Carp's" observations have been rescued from musty scrapbooks. Carp reported on the Washington scene with the enthusiasm of a wide-eyed, inquisitive visitor in a big and wonderful new world. He wrote as a man passing through but lingering long enough to see everything and hear all the lore and gossip. A wise and sensitive traveler, he avoided unseemly keyhole snooping and showed no concern for such big economic issues as the treasury surplus, tariff making, and free silver. The Washington Carp loved and described was home to a man living in a tree house; such congressmen and senators as "Pig-Iron" Kelley, William McKinley, George Hearst, and Joe Brown; the lovely Mrs. Grover Cleveland with an arresting new hair do; and the statue of "the naked Washington in front of the Capitol." Carp delightfully portrayed the venerable George Bancroft and had a meaningful interview with the Negro Frederick Douglass. The book deserves a place in everybody's library. It is far better than its flamboyant dust jacket and Cleveland Amory's introduction indicate.

University of Maryland

HORACE S. MERRILL

NATHAN GOFF, JR.: A BIOGRAPHY, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF GUY DESPARD GOFF AND BRAZILLA CARROLL REECE. By *G. Wayne Smith*. (Charleston, W. Va.: Education Foundation, Inc. 1959. Pp. 375.) Nathan Goff, southern Republican and for twenty years "the chief financial supporter and the principal leader of the party" in West Virginia, is the subject of a scholarly biography by Professor Smith of Fairmont State College. Family history from colonial Rhode Island to Virginia in the 1840's is briefly and effectively told. A moving chapter on Goff's Civil War experiences leads to his career in law and entrance into politics where his first twenty-two years included three terms in Congress and culminated in the gubernatorial election of 1888-1889. Business interests (real estate, oil, coal, and gas), a term as federal judge (1892-1913), and eventual service as United States senator round out the story. The final chapters continue a narrative of West Virginia Republican politics through the 1920's with interesting material on the Daugherty-Miller conspiracy trial. Essentially political biography of an old-fashioned sort, the study illustrates vividly the development of a Clay Whig family through Unionism, Radical Republicanism, and attachment to Grant, Blaine, and McKinley to a final position near Robert Taft's. The relations of private business, local and state politics, and national problems are sensibly presented. Rich in information, clear and precise in style, devoid of irrelevant color and sweeping generalization, the biography achieves greatest breadth in presenting Goff's judicial defense of Negroes' civil rights and his conduct on labor questions. Extensive research and a disciplined, critical approach combine to make this a worthy contribution in a comparatively unexplored field.

Ohio University

HARRY R. STEVENS

JONATHAN PRENTISS DOLLIVER: A STUDY IN POLITICAL INTEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE. By *Thomas Richard Ross*. (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. 1958. Pp. xiii, 366. \$6.50.) Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver, lawyer, orator, congressman, senator, has been known heretofore through the lives and commentaries of his contemporaries. The author has given us a clearly presented, well-condensed life of a very important senator, stressing his political activities. He has portrayed well the education, work, and background that produced Dolliver, the unequaled orator and the appealing public figure loved and respected by his constituents and party associates. Dolliver's position is sometimes presented as vague and indecisive in his party's divisions. This should no longer be so. He deplored party divisions, but neither Aldrich nor Taft could abrogate and reverse the party platform and expect him to stamp approval on broken promises; nor could they read him out of the party because he did not rubber-stamp their dicta. Dolliver's political activity started at twenty years of age as a campaign speaker, and he did not cease "to carry water to the elephants" until his last illness in 1910. In his early years he was not critical of Republicans, but by 1901 he was anxious to revise the tariff, however, Roosevelt and Allison implored him to be patient. He led the Republican fight for the Hepburn railroad rate bill, and Roosevelt gave him chief credit for its passage in the Senate. His greatest effort was against the Aldrich amendments to the Payne tariff bill in the special session of 1909. It was in this fight that his health was much impaired, and he never fully recovered. Dolliver's most appealing quality was his tolerance. He held that "both the children of light and the children of darkness" were motivated by self-interest and greed for power. This dulled the edge of party bitterness and enabled him to accept personal differences. The author has made use of the numerous collections of private papers in the Historical Society at Iowa City, the Department of History and Archives at Des Moines, and in the Library of Congress, as well as the contemporary press and numerous printed sources dealing with this period. He has defined and clarified the roles of insurgent

leaders which are frequently confused by popular historians. The book is an important addition to a valuable series of political biographies, and it reveals the important interplay of our state and national politics. Historians can well note the man whom Beveridge called "our only genius" and of whom Ben Tillman said, "Great men are plentiful in this country, but not as great as Dolliver."

University of Nebraska

J. L. SELLERS

EDWARD G. RYAN: LION OF THE LAW. By *Alfons J. Beitzinger*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1960. Pp. vi, 214. \$3.95.) Edward G. Ryan was chief justice of Wisconsin's Supreme Court from 1874 to his death in 1880. These fruitful and relatively peaceful years followed a stormy career at the bar and as a leader of the state's Democratic party. Ryan had plummeted himself into a decade of well-nigh total eclipse when he led Wisconsin's Democrats against Lincoln's emancipation policy. Shorter writings in the quarter century following Ryan's death paid tribute to his judicial work and expressed as well as mortal man could the puzzle that was his personality. His judicial opinions, political activities, public lectures, and the round of stories that collect about an unusual person have been the subject of scattered writings in the past half century. The present work pulls all of them together and adds careful, painstaking analyses of his legal and political thinking, and the familial, common-law, natural law, Locofoco roots of that thinking. Through Ryan's eyes appear causes that were significant in the life of the state and the nation, including the cases involving Sherman Booth, and a variety of actions in which, as chief justice, Ryan sought to safeguard state authority against the centralizing trends induced by the Civil War. This able work is published as one of the Wisconsin State Historical Society's "State Street Books," paperbacks that make excellent historical writing available at perhaps half the cost of hardbacks. The volume complements E. Bruce Thompson's *Matthew Hale Carpenter*, also a society publication.

College of St. Thomas

ROBERT P. FOGERTY

FINNISH IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICA, 1880-1920. By *A. William Høglund*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960. Pp. vi, 213. \$5.00.) By mining the rich lode of the Finnish-language press in America, A. William Høglund has produced a remarkable study of the quarter-million immigrant Finns. After a brief survey of causes of emigration from Finland, he departs from the usual pattern of such books, with their sequences of chapters on economic, social, cultural, and political adjustments. Høglund is refreshingly preoccupied with Finnish-American folkways, ideas on religion and ethics and on reform, from temperance to socialism, and especially the multifarious organizations within the group. To the Finns, or at any rate to the articulate editors and organizers among them, all this was part of the popular enlightenment and self-improvement of the age, of which their own emigration from Finland indeed was a facet. And so they disputed theology, or discussed the Americanization of Finnish family life, or published Finnish translations of Bernarr MacFadden on sexual emancipation. As Høglund guides us through all the interests of the Finnish-American press, however, the ordinary immigrant miners or lumbermen seem rather remote, as disembodied as their happily expressive photographs show they were not. Less unavoidably, in its topical arrangement the book belongs to that school which recognizes the complexity and confusion of history by exemplifying rather than clarifying it. The result is like Mesabi ore brought out by Finnish miners, well worth the effort, yet needing further analysis and refinement.

Princeton University

ROWLAND BERTHOFF

AMERIKA SAMOA: A HISTORY OF AMERICAN SAMOA AND ITS UNITED STATES NAVAL ADMINISTRATION. By J. A. C. Gray. (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute, 1960. Pp. xx, 295. \$6.00.) The Samoan Islands have appeared only rarely on the stage of world history. When they have attracted the attention of the anthropologist, the historian, or the press, the center of interest has almost always been directed to the people and politics of Western Samoa. The eastern islands, or American Samoa, have been generally ignored by scholars and by the world. For the most part the little territory has enjoyed a placid existence since the partition of Samoa in 1899. It is also the least-known and most often forgotten area under the American flag. This book is divided into two parts. The first, dealing with the anthropology and history of Samoa prior to 1900, covers material already adequately described in scholarly works. For readers not familiar with Samoa, it will provide a readable and reliable account of the confusing society and the complicated international relations of Samoa in the nineteenth century. It will also serve as an introduction to the second part, in which the author describes the usually tranquil but occasionally controversial course of events in American Samoa during the fifty years in which the territory was governed by the United States Naval Administration. It is in this section that Dr. Gray has dealt with material not hitherto studied in a scholarly work and has presented information only vaguely known even to the student of history. The author served in Samoa as a medical officer of the Naval Administration. He has supplemented his obviously extensive and sympathetic understanding of the islands and their people by research in the National Archives and in available printed literature. On the basis of experience and research, he has written a volume that is factually reliable and dispassionate in tone. It may not be the definitive history of American Samoa, but it is an important addition to the literature dealing with Oceania and will be a welcome reference work for all who are interested in the history of American expansion.

Vanderbilt University

HAROLD WHITMAN BRADLEY

HERBERT HOOVER AND GERMANY. By Louis P. Lochner. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1960. Pp. vii, 244. \$5.00.) Louis Lochner, chief of the Associated Press bureau in Berlin from 1928 to 1942, won a Pulitzer Prize in journalism in 1939. A year earlier he had met Herbert Hoover in Berlin, and in 1947 he was a member of the President's Economic Mission to Germany and Austria. His purpose here "is to present in chronological sequence such facts and pertinent commentary as will illuminate and clarify the exact relation of Mr. Hoover to imperial, republican, national-socialist, and postwar federal Germany and her people." Lochner has labored in a well-worked field. He adds little to our knowledge of *De Re Metallica*, World War I relief, and the financial crises of 1931-1932. In the mad rush of events after World War II, Hoover's relief activities made little impression on the general public, yet Lochner concludes "that what was done under Mr. Hoover's continuing guidance to feed Germany averted Germany's going Communist." Hoover was chairman of the Famine Emergency Commission in 1946, of the President's Economic Mission in 1947, and, until July 1, 1948, was the unheralded adviser to Tracy Voorhees, War Department Food Administrator for the Occupied Areas. He championed a program to rebuild German economy, moreover, and his Child Feeding Program endeared him to the younger generation who benefitted by the Hoover-*Speisung*. The preface arouses a keen anticipation in the reader, for at last a writer has been permitted "to browse at will . . . in the restricted Hoover Archives. . . ." There are, however, few indications that he used any significant number of manuscripts not already published. In his chapter on the moratorium, Lochner quotes from Hoover's "Diary of Developments of the Moratorium," but Hoover's own account in his *Memoirs* is more complete. What might possibly be done

by someone with a passport to the Hoover Archives is revealed by a short quotation from Hoover's diary of his 1938 visit to Europe. There is very little of this kind of material. Most of the volume consists of long quotations from Hoover's *Memoirs* and other publications.

Miami University

HARRIS GAYLORD WARREN

THE POLITICS OF RAILROAD COORDINATION, 1933-1936. By *Earl Latham*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 338. \$6.50.) This detailed and careful study of Joseph B. Eastman's three-year term as Federal Coordinator of Transportation under the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act of 1933 serves two principal purposes. It analyzes the many trials and tribulations that Eastman had to face in trying to achieve economies and to increase the efficiency of the nation's depression-stricken railroads and it provides an excellent example of the necessity for an administrator to comprehend fully the nature of the various "power groups" with which he has to work and to appreciate the important difference between the limits of his "authority" and the sources and extent of his "power." It is in terms of Eastman's understanding of these two concepts and of his "administrative style" that Mr. Latham appraises the Federal Coordinator's record during these three years. What emerges is the story of a devoted and selfless public servant and of a highly capable, experienced, and intelligent administrator who, because of his judicial qualities of mind and of his "antipolitical temperament," failed to establish the necessary "power" to permit him to exercise all of his "authority" effectively. So long as the railroads cooperated with him, Eastman was successful; when they resisted his efforts, he was almost helpless. In the end, Eastman failed to achieve the degree and kind of coordination he believed necessary to establish the American railroad system on a sound and efficient basis. Nor was he able to have the office that he occupied made permanent, despite his numerous friends in the railroad industry and in Congress. Based on extensive original research in the Eastman and other manuscripts and on considerable work in the printed sources and the secondary literature, Latham's important and perceptive monograph on a significant issue in the administrative history of the early New Deal provides the reader with numerous insights into the kinds of problems facing government administrators today.

VINCENT P. CAROSSO

CHRONOLOGY, 1941-1945. Compiled by *Mary H. Williams*. [U. S. Army in World War II: Special Studies.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1960. Pp. 660. \$4.75.) Superbly supplementing the other volumes in the series, of which it is an integral part, this large, detailed compendium enables the reader to "see the events of the war day by day in their sequence and contemporaneity, measure the scope of the global struggle, and begin to grasp the relation of the innumerable parts to the whole." The preface states: "The chronology is primarily one of tactical events . . . with emphasis on ground action by United States armed forces. Aid and naval cooperation, combat actions of foreign units—both Allied and enemy—and general events of world-wide interest are detailed within the scope of space limitations." In addition to primary sources, the compiler relied heavily on the findings of historians associated with the series, on the works of Morison, and of Craven and Cate. The reader is not troubled by the absence of citations and bibliography. The chronology proper fills 549 crowded pages. A four-page glossary of official abbreviations used extensively throughout, three and a half pages of code names, and a staggering index of ninety-seven three-column pages of individuals, places, and units follow. The same high standards that have distinguished the series are maintained in this volume.

Coker College

FENTON KEYES

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1959. By *Richard P. Stebbins*. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1960. Pp. xii, 464. \$6.00.) This latest addition to an established annual series will be welcome to those who study, teach, or write in the volatile atmosphere of current history. Its chapters rapidly and expertly describe a year when the leaders of the great opposing ideologies sought to build up reservoirs of good will by face-to-face contacts and by individual forays to the far corners of the earth. Its narrative of apparently relaxed tensions carries a note of carefully hedged optimism. It covers a year when the passing of John Foster Dulles forced President Eisenhower into unprecedented personal participation in the wide-ranging affairs that carried the United States along its uneasy adjustment to the responsibilities of world power. Among perennial issues occupying the stage were: deterring Soviet aggression, further reanimating the free-world economy, the status of Germany and of Berlin, disarmament, maintaining the viability of the United Nations and of NATO and SEATO, its ancillary alliances, and opposition to China's aggressive Communism in the Far East. New problems, or those beginning to demand greater attention, were Russian pressure, reaching a point where it had to be recognized, negotiation at the "summit," growing concern for the American balance of payments in the face of mounting European prosperity, the vigor of Charles de Gaulle's demands for greater recognition of France in the Western coalition, a tardy realization of the importance of African affairs, and the inauguration of a fence mending operation after Vice-President Nixon's unfortunate Latin American experience. The volume represents a remarkable exercise in the rapid assembling of complicated material into a factual account completely and deliberately devoid of the value judgments that it will help later writers to make and that many current students would welcome. Pressures of time and of organizational format cause some repetitiousness, and the attempt to be all inclusive prompts the introduction of considerable material on areas where United States interests are presently peripheral. These are, of course, but minor criticisms of an admirable work.

Rutgers University

L. ETHAN ELLIS

LATIN AMERICA

THE INDIAN POPULATION OF CENTRAL MEXICO, 1531-1610. By *Sherburne F. Cook* and *Woodrow Borah*. [Ibero-Americana: 44.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1960. Pp. 109. \$2.00.) In this work the authors consolidate and continue the Mexican population research of their earlier studies. Their figures for the period 1531-1610 indicate an even sharper loss in total Indian population than that proposed by Cook and Simpson in 1948. The new estimate for 1532 is about seventeen million or double the Cook and Simpson figure; that for 1608 is about one million or half the Cook and Simpson figure. The differences are principally to be ascribed to the wider selection of sources and the more developed techniques of interpretation of the present work.

State University of Iowa

CHARLES GIBSON

JEWS IN COLONIAL BRAZIL. By *Arnold Wiznitzer*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 227. \$7.00.) This treatise on the Jews in colonial Brazil (1503-1822) is part of the larger story of Jewish dispersion throughout the world during several millenia. It deals with the fanatical program of the Portuguese government to enforce religious unity in its kingdom and the consequent Jewish migration to Brazil, with the economic, religious, and political activities of the Jews in their new environment, and with the Dutch interlude into northern Brazil (1630-1654), which witnessed the

advent of the Netherlands Jews, along with greater religious, economic, and political freedom for the Hebrews. The remainder of the little volume is devoted to the war of liberation from the Dutch, with its consequent disruptions, Jewish activities in their two most important communities in Dutch Brazil, the horrible suppression of the Jews, in which the Inquisition took the lead, during the century between the expulsion of the Dutch and the advent in Portugal of the marquis of Pombal about the mid-eighteenth century, and the integration of the Jews into the Brazilian population following the repeal of the repressive measures. In producing his excellent treatise, Dr. Wiznitzer has drawn heavily upon original documents found in many repositories. Particularly valuable for his story were the documents secured from the Dutch archives and from the *Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* in Lisbon. In the use of these original materials, the author has considerably corrected an imbalance in earlier general accounts by Portuguese and Brazilian writers. Some Portuguese and Brazilians, however, may contend, with a degree of legitimacy, that Wiznitzer has swung his pendulum too far in the opposite direction. I feel that in the absence of documents he may "assume," "suspect," and resort to questionable "logic" a bit too often. And if the modern fast reader happens to thumb through the book, he is sure to criticize the too numerous and too detailed exhibits.

Colorado Springs, Colorado

LAWRENCE F. HILL

SUGAR, GOLD, AND COFFEE: ESSAYS ON THE HISTORY OF BRAZIL BASED ON FRANCIS HULL'S BOOKS. By *Felix Reichmann*. [Francis Hull Library of *Brasiliana*.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Library. 1959. Pp. xxiii, 160.) In 1949 Mr. Herbert Johnson, a trustee of Cornell University, informed the Cornell Library of his intention to purchase for the university the *Brasiliana* collection of Colonel Francis Hull of Ceará. Hull, long a resident of Brazil, had collected a seemingly valuable library. The Cornell Library sent Reichmann, in his own words "not a specialist," to evaluate it. Presumably on his advice, Cornell acquired the collection. The present volume which the author calls a *Festschrift* in honor of the donor and of the collector is a disservice to both and also to the Cornell Library. As much as Brazilianists welcome the appearance of surveys so they can direct their undergraduates to something on their specialty, they cannot make use of this work because of its superficiality and its errors. The non-specialist author may be forgiven for his errors but not for his temerity. To assume that the history of Brazil could be chiefly written from the books collected by one man (a civil engineer to boot) is arrogance, to attempt to write the history is further arrogance, and to publish it without consultation with Brazilianists either native or foreign is impudence. Reichmann attempts to clear himself by stating that the work "should be regarded as a memorial to an important collection rather than [as] a contribution to Brazilian historiography." A far more suitable memorial to the collection would have been a catalogue of it, despite the author's demurral. If Cornell now possesses important *Brasiliana*, a greater service, may a service, would have been to make it known to the interested public. The present volume gives us superficial histories of Brazil, of the collector and his library, and of Cornell's long and justly well-known intellectual relationships with Brazil.

Georgetown University

GEORGE C. A. BOEHRER

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General

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Historical News

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association is available to all members. The *Report* consists of two volumes each year, the *Proceedings* and the *Writings in American History*. The last published *Proceedings* volume is for 1959; the last volume of the *Writings*, for 1953. Members wishing to receive these volumes on a regular basis should write the Association (400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.) and request that their names be added to the list.

The American Historical Association publishes triennially the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History in Progress or Completed at Colleges and Universities in the United States*. The *List* shows trends in research and prevents duplication of work. The 1961 *List* will be compiled in the spring for fall publication. The Association keeps a running file of topics, and early in 1961 forms will be sent to all Ph.D. departments in order that topics not yet registered may be included. Dr. William L. Fox of Montgomery Junior College carries on the work of the *List* and will edit the publication. A few copies of the 1958 *List* (\$1.50) are still available at Association headquarters.

The Association's Service Center for Teachers of History now has in print thirty-two titles in its pamphlet series designed to provide aids to secondary school teachers of history. More than 300,000 copies have been distributed. A complete list of titles available may be obtained from the Service Center at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C. Several new titles will appear during the 1960-1961 academic year. A number of experimental one-week institutes for teachers have been held during the past three summers, jointly sponsored by the Service Center and the history departments of the host institutions. Selected school systems have also carried out a few promising experiments with an extra-curricular seminar for senior high school students especially interested in history, featuring college and university historians who discuss their own current research.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association met at the University of Washington (Seattle) on September 7-9, 1960. About 275 historians attended the twenty sessions, luncheons, and dinners. Professor Thomas A. Bailey gave the presidential address, "America's Emergence as a World Power: The Myth and the Reality." Officers of the Branch for 1961 are: President, Francis Herrick of Mills College; Vice-President, Frederick Soward of the University of British Columbia; Secretary-Treasurer, John A. Schutz of

Whittier College; Managing Editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*, John Caughey of the University of California, Los Angeles; newly elected Council members Charles Gates of the University of Washington, Arthur Raymond Kooker of the University of Southern California, and Henry C. Meyer of Pomona College. The 1961 meeting will be held at San Jose State College during the last three days of August. The Louis Knott Koontz Memorial Award was presented to Edward N. Barnhart for his article "The Individual Exclusion of Japanese Americans in World War II," in the *Pacific Historical Review* (May 1960), and the Pacific Coast Branch Award went to Leonard J. Arrington for his book, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter Day Saints, 1830-1900*.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

A number of the Library of Congress' manuscript collections have been enlarged. Important biographical material is contained in a series of forty-five letters from Benjamin Harrison to his cousin, Mrs. Margaret Peltz of St. Louis, Missouri, 1877-1893, which have been added to the Harrison collection. Approximately five hundred family papers that date from 1888 to 1927 have been given by Mrs. Martin Fladoes of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to supplement the papers of her brother, General William Mitchell, the pioneer of military aviation. Some two hundred letters Bishop Charles Henry Brent wrote to Mrs. Whitelaw Reid between 1906 and 1929 have been presented to the Library by Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid and Miss Helen C. C. Brent; these are valuable for a study of Bishop Brent as author, lecturer, church leader, Chief of Chaplain Service in World War I, and United States representative to several international opium conferences.

The Manuscript Division now has the main body or a principal group of the papers of twenty-three Presidents, from George Washington to Calvin Coolidge. These papers are now, under congressional authorization, being filmed and indexed. Microfilm at the cost of the positive is or will be available in 1960 of papers of Monroe, Van Buren, W. H. Harrison, Tyler, Taylor, Pierce, Lincoln, Arthur, and Cleveland. Inquiries should be addressed to the Chief, Loan Division, Library of Congress.

The National Archives has recently received copies of specifications of patents issued during the years 1790-1836, prepared from documents in the possession of inventors or their families to replace originals lost in the Patent Office fire of 1836. The reconstructed drawings for patents issued during these years were already in the National Archives. Among the more than 3,100 reels of motion picture film accessioned during the year ending June 30, 1960, were scenes showing the funeral of Secretary of State Dulles, the visit of Vice-President Nixon to Poland and the Soviet Union, President Eisenhower's trips to South America, Europe, and Asia, the Paris Summit Conference, and Russian Premier Khrushchev's visit to the United States. Newly accessioned still pictures include 45,000 photographs made by the Air Transport Command of the Army Air Forces, 1943-1945, showing primarily the transport of troops and supplies from South America to

Africa and Asia; and 41,500 photographs of the International Press Service of the US Information Agency documenting United States information activities abroad, 1948-1958.

Among microfilm publications recently completed by the National Archives are records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1910-1929 (178 rolls); an Index to Federal Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Baltimore, 1820-1897 (171 rolls); and Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the States of Alabama (508 rolls), Arkansas (256 rolls), and Louisiana (414 rolls). The Miscellaneous Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy, 1801-1884, have been microfilmed through 1842 (189 rolls). The following preliminary inventories of records in the National Archives have been issued: no. 129, General Records of the Economic Stabilization Agency, compiled by Charles Zaid; no. 130, Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, compiled by Richard S. Maxwell; and no. 131, Records of Inaugural Committees, compiled by F. Hardee Allen. The American Historical Association's Committee for the Study of War Documents has prepared, and the National Archives has published, another guide to German records microfilmed at Alexandria, Virginia: no. 17, *Records of Headquarters, German Armed Forces High Command* (Part II). Additional information about the microfilm and copies of the publications may be obtained from the Exhibits and Publications Branch, the National Archives, Washington 25, D. C.

The Harry S. Truman Library now has commitments from forty-four associates of former President Truman and officials of the Truman administration for the deposit of their papers in the library. The first installments have been received of the papers of John D. Clark, former member of the Council of Economic Advisors, and of Stephen J. Spingarn, former special assistant and administrative assistant to the President and Commissioner of the Federal Trade Commission. The next step is to acquire papers relating to Mr. Truman's presenatorial career. The library has received from the School of Communications of the University of Washington twenty sound recording tapes of Truman speeches and historic events involving him. They include broadcasts covering the death of President Roosevelt, V-E Day, and V-J Day. They are from a historical transcription project designed to preserve significant broadcasts of the Columbia Broadcasting System. The library has also received records of the Cooperative League, 1939-1949, and by transfer from the National Archives the records of the following commissions, which served in a fact-finding or advisory capacity to President Truman: the President's Air Policy Commission, the President's Commission on Health Needs of the Nation, the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, the President's Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights, the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, the President's Scientific Research Board, and the President's Water Resources Policy Commission. The Board of Directors of the Truman Library Institute has adopted a policy of favoring grants to younger scholars rather than to those who have established reputations. Most grants are given to those working on the period of Truman's presidency, and some may cover work in other depositories if they are related to work done primarily at the Truman Library. The institute's committee on grants will

consider projects in the other fields of the library, the history and nature of the presidency and American foreign relations, provided the library has enough material on the proposed subject.

A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States, compiled by the staff of the National Historical Publications Commission, is scheduled for publication by the Yale University Press in January 1961. The work contains descriptions of the manuscript holdings of more than thirteen hundred depositories, large and small, and is based on published and unpublished guides, inventories, and lists.

With the publication of the seventh volume of the *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, entitled *Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1953*, the Eisenhower administration has been covered except for the final volume, which is scheduled for release early in 1961. The series is restricted to papers that have been made public, including transcripts of all presidential news conferences, messages to Congress, formal addresses, informal remarks, letters, messages to heads of state, and statements by the President on miscellaneous subjects. The indexed volumes also contain lists of reports to Congress, proclamations, and executive orders. All volumes may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D. C.

Mrs. Edward W. Freeman, on behalf of herself and of her brother, the late George W. Perkins, Jr., has placed at Columbia University the papers of her father, George Walbridge Perkins (1862-1920). The collection comprises correspondence, official papers, financial records, memoranda, and public speeches which concern the history of life insurance, banking, industrial development, and politics in the period of Perkins' activity. The papers will be valuable for scholars in the fields of political and economic history.

The Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820) papers have been acquired by the Maryland Historical Society. The papers of this friend of Jefferson and architect of the United States Capitol comprises 8,800 copies of his letters, more than three hundred of his drawings and water colors, and thirteen journals.

INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Eleventh International Congress of Historical Sciences convened in Stockholm, August 21-28, 1960. About sixteen hundred historians from most parts of the world met to hear major scholarly Reports and related Papers covering all fields of history, as well as to renew friendships and to make new ones. The number of historians from the United States totaled approximately 170, nearly forty of whom took some official part in the meeting or in the preceding meetings of the specialized groups which met August 17-20.

To the Assembly (ruling body) of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, the United States sent two representatives, Professor Arthur Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania and Dr. Boyd C. Shafer of the American Historical Association. At Stockholm the latter was elected to the Bureau (executive body) of the ICHS for a five-year term ending in 1965. The Assembly and Bu-

reau, during their meetings held on August 17, 18, 19, 20, and 28, revised the Statutes of the ICHS, discussed procedural and administrative questions, made final plans for the Stockholm Congress, and began planning for the 1965 Congress which will be held in Vienna.

The scholarly sessions of the Congress, generally held at the University of Stockholm, were well attended. Five were held each day, August 22-27. General meetings were convoked on August 21 at Stockholm and on August 28 at Uppsala. Thirty major Reports, previously printed and distributed, formed the basis of the discussions, and 115 Papers, previously printed and distributed in abstract form, were given. In addition, many historians discussed the Reports and Papers in "interventions" which varied greatly in length and content. Historians from the USSR and allied countries were particularly prominent in the discussions as they repeated Marxist interpretations of various subjects.

The Swedish national committee headed by Professor Torvald Höjer of the University of Stockholm and Mrs. Höjer made elaborate preparations for the Congress. These were well carried out in spite of the physical limitations of the university meeting rooms and the great number of historians. The tours for the ladies of the Congress won wide acclaim.

Sir Charles Webster of Great Britain, as Vice-President, presided over the general meetings of the Congress as well as its business meetings in place of President Federico Chabod of Italy, who had died earlier in the summer. The new President of the Committee is Professor Heinrich Schmid of Austria, the Vice-Presidents are Professors Torvald Höjer of Sweden and A. A. Gouber of the USSR, the Secretary-General and Treasurer are again Professors Michel François of France and Louis Junod of Switzerland while the counselors, elected as individuals, are: Professors G. Ritter of Germany, P. Harsin of Belgium, E. Jacob of Great Britain, R. Carande of Spain, K. Takahashi of Japan, and Dr. B. Shafer of the United States. The last five are newly elected members.

The American historians who gave Reports were: Norman Brown of the University of Pennsylvania, "Traditional Culture and Modern Developments in India"; Sterling Dow of Harvard University, "The Greeks in the Bronze Age"; Felix Gilbert of Bryn Mawr College, "Cultural History and Its Problems"; Earl J. Hamilton of the University of Chicago, "The History of Prices before 1750"; and David S. Landes of the University of California (Berkeley), "The Structure of Enterprise in the Nineteenth Century: The Cases of Britain and France." Among the American historians who gave Papers at the Congress or at the meetings of affiliated groups were: Bernard Bailyn, Woodrow Borah, William F. Church, Henry Steele Commager, Merle Curti, A. L. Gabriel, Louis Gottschalk, Oscar Halecki, Hajo Holborn, Robert S. Hoyt, H. C. Krueger, J. Russell Major, Helen Taft Manning, Carl Schorske, Franklin Scott, and Richard Shryock. Three Presidents of sessions were from the United States, Hans Kohn, Henry Steele Commager, and Bernadotte Schmitt.

The department of history of the University of Malaya at Singapore plans to hold its First International Conference of Southeast Asian Historians, June 16-21, 1961. The aims of the conference are: to bring together for their mutual benefit

the Asian historians working in Southeast Asia; to permit European specialists to meet the new Asian historians of this area and to discuss the problems and prospects of historical research in Southeast Asia; and to provide a platform for the pronouncement and subsequent publication of the latest scholarly research in the history of Southeast Asia. Historians interested in attending this conference may communicate with the chairman of the organizing committee, Professor K. G. Treganning, Department of History, University of Malaya, Cluny Road, Singapore 10.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, has announced the following Fulbright lecturing and research awards in history for 1960-1961: *Lecturing*—Martin L. Abbott, Oglethorpe University, University of Mainz (Germany); Robert G. Athearn, University of Colorado, University College of North Wales; William A. Bultmann, Ohio Wesleyan University, University of Dacca (Pakistan); David M. Chalmers, University of Florida, University of Ceylon; Norman Herbert Dawes (renewal), Carnegie Institute of Technology, Allahabad University (India); David Lloyd Dowd, University of Florida, University of Toulouse; Michael Ginsburg, Indiana University, University of Helsinki; Charles Hirschfeld, Michigan State University, Bologna Center of Johns Hopkins University; Charles Jelavich, University of California (Berkeley), University of Munich; Merrill Jensen, University of Wisconsin, University of Ghent; Frenise A. Logan, Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Universities of Madras and Calcutta; Saul K. Padover, New School for Social Research (New York), University of Malaya; Marc Raëff, Clark University, University of Paris; Marvin Chauncey Ross, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library (Washington, D. C.), University of Vienna; Max Savelle, University of Washington, University of Madrid; Anthony F. Turhollow, Loyola University (Los Angeles), Annamalai University (India); George H. Williams, Harvard University, University of Strasbourg; Herbert J. Wood, Washington State College, M.S. University of Baroda and Aligarh Muslim University (India). *Research*—Paul J. Alexander, University of Michigan, American Academy in Rome; Arlow William Andersen, Jamestown College (North Dakota), University of Oslo; Paul Walden Bamford, University of Minnesota, University of Paris; George M. Beckmann, University of Kansas, Keio University (Japan); James H. Billington, Harvard University, University of Helsinki; Helmut G. Callis, University of Utah, Indian Museum (Calcutta); Thomas M. Gale, University of Kansas, University of San Marcos (Lima); Deno J. Geanakoplos, University of Illinois, University of Athens; Gabriel Jackson, Wellesley College, University of Madrid; Bert J. Loewenberg, Sarah Lawrence College, University of Leeds (England); Ramsay MacMullen, University of Oregon, American Academy in Rome; Robert S. Maxwell, Stephen F. Austin State College, University of Southampton (England); Henry C. Meyer, Pomona College, University of Freiburg (Germany); George E. Mowry, University of California (Los Angeles), Oxford University; Willard A. Smith, University of

Toledo, University of Madrid; Lewis W. Spitz, University of Missouri, University of Mainz (Germany); Daniel H. Thomas, University of Rhode Island, University of Brussels; Richard W. Van Alstyne, University of Southern California, University of London.

The Social Science Research Council offers fellowships and grants of several kinds that may be of interest to historians. These include Research Training Fellowships, Faculty Research Fellowships, and Grants-in-Aid of Research. They are intended to set standards of quality, encourage new developments in research and in training for research, and to honor individual achievement. The closing dates for receipt of applications or nominations vary with the program and type of award. Information and application forms can be obtained from the Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

The Ford Foundation has granted Foreign Area Training Fellowships to nearly eight hundred young American and Canadian scholars since 1952 in order to meet the need for greater knowledge and understanding of Asia, the Near East, Africa, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe. Of these fellowships, 193 went to historians.

The United States government is financing the work of approximately five thousand graduate students at an annual cost of twenty-five million dollars. Eighty per cent of the awards are in mathematics and the sciences. The humanities and social sciences, which account for 33½ per cent of the Ph.D. degrees, receive 16 per cent of the federal fellowships. The average award in the sciences pays the student seven hundred dollars more per year than do those in non-science fields.

Informal statistics, prepared by John L. Chase, Specialist for the Social Sciences of the Office of Education, reveal that history ranked sixth (after chemistry, physics, mathematics, English, dramatic art, and psychology) in total value of fellowship support, the actual amount available to history being \$1,230,683 out of approximately twenty-seven million dollars available for all of the disciplines.

Professor Raymond T. McNally of Boston College was selected by the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants to participate in this year's cultural exchange program between American and Russian universities.

George T. Morgan, Jr., research associate with the Forest History Society, won the Marion F. McClain Award in Pacific Northwest history for his biography, "William B. Greeley: A Practical Forester, 1904-1928."

The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, announces that one of its post-doctoral fellowships will be available beginning in the summer of 1961. The three-year appointment carries an annual stipend of five thousand dollars.

PUBLICATIONS

The Department of State has recently issued the following publications in its External Research series: no. 1.14, *USSR and Eastern Europe*; no. 2.14, *East Asia*; no. 3.14, *Southeast Asia*; no. 4.14, *South Asia*; no. 5.14, *Western Europe*; no. 6.14, *Middle East*; no. 7.14, *Africa*; no. 8.14, *American Republics*; no. 9.14, *British Commonwealth*; no. 10.14, *International Affairs*.

The Forest History Society of St. Paul, Minnesota, has announced the inauguration of a three-year project to compile a bibliography of printed sources in the field of North American forest history.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

The thirty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Corporation of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held at Radcliffe College on April 30, 1960. Professor S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado presided. The following officers were elected: President, Berthold Louis Ullman of the University of North Carolina; Clerk, Taylor Starck of Harvard University; Councillors, William M. Burke of the University of Iowa, George P. Cuttino of Emory University, Putnam F. Jones of the University of Pittsburgh, and Rensselaer W. Lee of Princeton University. The Haskins Medal was awarded to Francis Dvornik of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University, in Washington, D. C., for his book entitled *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*.

At its twentieth annual business meeting in Iowa City, Iowa, September 2, 1960, the American Association for State and Local History elected as its eighth president Frederick L. Rath, jr., vice-director of the New York State Historical Association in Cooperstown. Albert B. Corey, New York state historian, was elected secretary. S. K. Stevens, director of the Pennsylvania historical and Museum Commission, and James H. Rodabaugh, head of the division of history and science at the Ohio State Museum, retain their respective positions as treasurer and Association editor.

The first Williamsburg Seminar of Canadian, English, and United States historians met September 8-10, 1960, to discuss interpretations of the American revolutionary era from the varying perspectives of Canada, Great Britain, and the United States.

Approximately sixty delegates from twenty institutions of higher learning attended the fifteenth annual conference of North New England Historians on October 8, 1960. Among the speakers were Professors Louis Morton of Dartmouth College, Thomas Reynolds of Middlebury College, Hans Heilbronner of the University of New Hampshire, and Herbert Hill of Dartmouth College.

The Tenth Conference on Early American History was held October 21-22, 1960, at Charlottesville, Virginia, and was sponsored jointly by the Corcoran Department of History and the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia. Scholarly papers were presented on many subjects of interest to historians of early America. The Eleventh Conference will be held March 24-25, 1961, at Ann Arbor, sponsored by the William L. Clements Library and the University of Michigan history department.

The Business History Conference for 1961 will meet February 18, 1961, at Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana. The theme of the conference will be "Management Decisions under Government Regulation." Information will be supplied by Robert B. Eckles, Chairman, Business History Conference, 1961, Department of History, Purdue University.

The fourth annual meeting of the Missouri Valley Conference of Collegiate Teachers of History will be held March 24-25, 1961, at the University of Omaha under the auspices of the department of history. Professor Bell I. Wiley of Emory University will be the speaker of the opening session commemorating the centennial of the Civil War.

Indiana University has announced an intensive three-summer course of teacher training made possible by a \$156,000 grant from Lilly Endowment, Inc., to improve the instruction of American history in the junior and senior high schools of Indiana. Fellowships valued at one thousand dollars will be awarded both to present teachers and to persons graduating from universities and colleges in the state. The recipients will study American history in the summer sessions beginning in 1961. As parts of the program, the department of history will undertake several other projects: a system of traveling professors to visit selected high schools to examine the status of history teaching and to assist in the improvement of instruction; the publication and distribution of bibliographies and other materials; the initiation of an interdepartmental six-credit-hour course on topics and viewpoints in American history; and a plan of supplementary study for teachers during the academic year. Maurice G. Baxter and John E. Wiltz will direct the new program.

PERSONAL

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

University of Alabama: William R. Barlow of Ohio State University appointed instructor. *Arlington State College* (Arlington, Texas): George C. Wolf-skill promoted to professor, and Howard Lackman, Robert W. Amsler, and John E. Perkins, to associate professor. *Berea College:* Richard A. Heckman appointed instructor; Joseph O. Van Hook retired. *University of Buffalo:* John P. Hal-

¹The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and extended leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session or completed temporary appointments, leaves of absence of less than a year, or honorary degrees and citations.

stead appointed assistant professor. *University of California* (Los Angeles): Louise Nalbandian appointed lecturer. *University of California* (Santa Barbara): Donald M. Dozer named acting chairman of the department; Wilbur R. Jacobs promoted to professor, Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, to associate professor, and C. Warren Hollister, to assistant professor; John E. Flint appointed assistant professor, George M. Haddad, acting assistant professor, Seymour L. Chapin and Kenneth Shover, acting instructor, and Lawrence Kinnaird and Wesley M. Gewehr, lecturer; A. Russell Buchanan designated part-time vice-chancellor of the university, and Robert L. Kelley, part-time assistant to the chancellor for development. *University of Colorado*: Robert P. Browder and Hal Bridges promoted to professor, and the former named chairman of the department; Daniel M. Smith promoted to associate professor. *Colorado College* (Colorado Springs): Louis G. Geiger appointed professor and named chairman of the department upon the resignation of Harvey L. Carter; William R. Hochman and Bentley B. Gilbert promoted to associate professor; Robin R. Rudoff appointed instructor; Paul P. Bernard on leave for 1960-61. *Columbia University*: Victor S. Mamatey of Florida State University appointed visiting professor for the spring semester of 1960-61. *University of Connecticut*: Robert W. Lougee named head of the department; Freeman Myer promoted to assistant professor; Kent Newmyer, John Semonche, and Harold Currie appointed instructor. *Cornell University*: Wolfgang Mommsen appointed visiting assistant professor for the spring semester of 1960-61, C. D. Cowan, visiting lecturer for the fall semester. *University of Denver*: Allen D. Breck promoted to professor; George Barany and Michael McGiffert appointed assistant professor. *Drexel Institute of Technology*: Stanley Wasson of Case Institute of Technology appointed associate professor. *Duke University*: Richard L. Watson and Arthur B. Ferguson promoted to professor, Donald Gillin, to assistant professor; Owen S. Connelly, Jr., appointed instructor for 1960-61; Harold T. Parker and Robert H. Woody on leave for 1960-61. *East Carolina College* (Greenville): Alvin A. Fahrner and Walter T. Calhoun appointed to the staff. *Emory University*: G. P. Cuttino named acting chairman to replace J. Harvey Young, who is on leave for 1960-61; Kermit E. McKenzie appointed assistant professor, and George S. McCowen, Jr., instructor.

Florida State University: Earl R. Beck promoted to professor; Joseph D. Cushman appointed instructor. *Florida Presbyterian College* (St. Petersburg): William C. Wilbur of Muhlenberg College appointed associate professor. *George Washington University*: Charles J. Herber of the University of California, Berkeley, appointed assistant professor, and Peter P. Hill, instructor. *Hunter College*: John J. Meng named president of the college. *Institute for Advanced Study* (Princeton, New Jersey): Members appointed for the year 1960-61 are Pierre Amandry, Antony Andrewes, Robert C. Bald, Peter H. von Blanckenhagen, Donald W. Bradeen, Charles O. Brink, Howard Comfort, Paul Frankl, Cesare Gnudi, Claireve Grandjouan, William S. Heckscher, Alan E. Heimert, Alexandre Koyré, Gerhart B. Ladner, Richard W. Leopold, George C. Miles, Dorothy E. Miner, Otto Neugebauer, Hans-Georg Pflaum, Donald W. Prakken, Clémence Ramnoux, Caroline Robbins, John M. Roberts, Richard Robinson, Marcel G. Röthlisberger, Wolfgang Schmid, Lucy T. Shoe, Walter M. Simon, Joseph B.

Skemp, Lawrence Stone, Eric G. Turner, H. T. Wade-Gery, C. Veronica Wedgwood, Mary E. White, David H. Wright. *Iowa Wesleyan College* (Mount Pleasant): John W. Carson of the Inter-American University of Puerto Rico appointed associate professor and named head of the department. *Kent State University*: Philip R. Shriver promoted to professor, Lawrence S. Kaplan, to associate professor, and Robert H. Jones and Martin J. Havran, to assistant professor; Barton E. Nolan, Stanley D. Solvick, Richard H. Condon, and Thomas B. Coulter appointed instructor. *Lafayette College*: Ivan A. Roots of the University of Cardiff appointed visiting lecturer for 1960-61. *Lake Erie College* (Painesville, Ohio): Helmut Hirsch appointed acting associate professor; Philip L. Ralph on leave for the year 1960-61. *Louisiana Polytechnic Institute* (Ruston): Edward H. Moseley and Harry Richard Mahood appointed assistant professor, and Phillip Shea, instructor.

Marquette University: An executive committee, Joseph P. Donnelly, S.J., William D. Miller, and Herbert W. Rice, assumed direction of the department, replacing Eugene H. Korth, S.J., who was named dean of the college of liberal arts; Paul Prucha, S.J., appointed to the staff. *Mars Hill College* (North Carolina): David M. Tucker appointed instructor. *University of Massachusetts*: Paul A. Gagnon and Vincent Ilardi promoted to assistant professor; Schafer Williams appointed associate professor, Cecil E. Cody of the University of Toledo and Jack Thompson of the University of South Carolina, assistant professor, Nelson P. Edmondson of Harvard University, instructor; Richard H. Brown on leave. *Massachusetts Historical Society*: John D. Cushing appointed assistant librarian. *Michigan State University*: Arthur E. Adams and Charles C. Cumberland promoted to professor, Stuart W. Bruchey and Frederick D. Williams, to associate professor; Denis W. Brogan appointed distinguished visiting professor for the spring semester of 1960-61. *University of Missouri*: Allen Davis of Wayne University appointed assistant professor; Jakob Larsen of the University of Chicago and Russell Jones of Westminster College (Missouri) appointed visiting professor. *Montana State University*: Herman Freudenberger of Brooklyn College and Vernon J. Snow of the University of Oregon appointed assistant professor; J. Earll Miller retired after forty-one years of service.

National Historical Publications Commission: Leonard C. Faber of the Massachusetts Historical Society appointed archivist. *New Mexico State College*: Robert R. Miller appointed to the staff. *Newark State College*: Donald R. Raichle promoted to professor, Nathan Goldberg, to assistant professor; Howard F. Didsbury, Jr., appointed assistant professor, Cornelius Paul Darcy and Martin Siegel, instructor. *North Carolina Wesleyan College* (Rocky Mount): Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., of East Carolina College appointed associate professor and chairman of the social studies division. *Northern Illinois University*: Ralph Bowen appointed professor, Zygmunt Gasiorowski, associate professor, and Alton Donnelly, Robert Ross, and John Sperling, assistant professor. *Oklahoma State University*: Theodore L. Agnew, LeRoy H. Fischer, and Norbert R. Mahnken promoted to professor. *Orange County State College* (California): Charles Povlovich named chairman of the department. *University of Rhode Island*: Roman J. Zorn of the University of Wisconsin, Green Bay, named dean of arts and sciences and professor of his-

tory. *Rice University*: William H. Nelson appointed chairman of the department, succeeding Floyd S. Lear, who retired from this position; Frank E. Vandiver appointed graduate director, and William D. Barber, Louis P. Galambos, and Leonard M. Marsak, assistant professor. *University of South Florida* (Tampa): Robert E. Goldstein and Robert W. Heywood appointed assistant professor, William Habberton, lecturer. *Southern Illinois University*: Allan J. McCurry and Patrick W. Riddleberger appointed associate professor, Christine Gilmore, lecturer. *University of Southwestern Louisiana*: Amos E. Simpson promoted to professor, and Vincent H. Cassidy, to associate professor; Walter R. Craddock and Norman B. Ferris appointed assistant professor; Carroll C. Gates appointed to the staff; Paul J. Stewart on leave. *Stanford University*: Thomas C. Smith promoted to professor, Frederic L. Cheyette, to acting assistant professor, and Jon M. Bridgman and Charles C. McLaughlin, to instructor; David M. Potter of Yale University appointed Coe Professor, effective in the fall of 1961; Lewis W. Spitz of the University of Missouri and James T. C. Liu of the University of Pittsburgh appointed associate professor, and Traian Stoianovich of Rutgers University and James H. Stone of San Francisco State College, acting associate professor for 1960-61; Leon J. Apt, Kinley J. Brauer, Richard S. Cramer, Jerome J. Kuehl, Doris H. Linder, Rodney G. Minott, Karl F. Morrison, George Navarrete, Charles H. Schlacks, and Ulrich Trumpener appointed instructor; George H. Knoles and Wayne S. Vucinich on leave for 1960-61.

University of Tennessee: Ruth Stephens retired after thirty-one years of service; Roland Duncan of the University of California, Berkeley, appointed assistant professor, John Muldowny, instructor. *University of Texas*: Otis A. Singletary named assistant to the president and promoted to professor; Eulalia Lobo of the University of Brazil appointed visiting professor for 1960-61; Fritz Fellner and Joyce Lebra, visiting lecturer for 1960-61; William R. Braisted on leave. *University of Utah*: W. Harold Dalglish replaced Leland H. Creer, who retired as head of the department; Frederick P. Latimer of the State Department appointed lecturer. *University of Virginia*: Walter Hauser of the University of Chicago appointed assistant professor and Claude H. Hall of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, visiting associate professor for 1960-61; Edward E. Younger on leave. *Washington College* (Chestertown, Maryland): Nathan Smith named acting chairman of the department and promoted to associate professor; Benjamin F. Byerly appointed instructor. *West Texas State College*: John W. Cooke appointed instructor. *Western Michigan University*: George T. Beech and Albert E. Castel III appointed assistant professor, and Graham P. Hawks, instructor. *College of William and Mary*: Richard B. Sherman of Pennsylvania State University appointed assistant professor. *University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*: Herbert H. Rowen of Elmira College and Nathan Miller of Rutgers University appointed associate professor, and Martin Kilcoyne of East Texas State College, instructor. *Woman's College of the University of North Carolina*: Barbara W. Brandon named acting head of the department; Blackwell P. Robinson promoted to associate professor; Walter T. Luczynski and Sally Marks appointed instructor; Carl Anthan appointed visiting professor; Lenoir C. Wright on leave for 1960-61. *Wooster College*: Thomas E. Felt appointed to the staff.

RECENT DEATHS

Eleanor Ferris of Cleveland, Ohio, died July 29, 1959, at the age of ninety-five.

Dr. Mildred Throne died in Iowa City, July 7, 1960. Since 1948 she served as a member of the editorial staff of the Iowa State Historical Society. Her primary interest was in the history of agriculture.

Fremont Philip Wirth, historian and lecturer on Russian education, died on August 6, 1960, at the age of seventy. Professor emeritus of history at Peabody College, he recently toured and reported on schools in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and Central Asia.

Sir Lewis Namier died August 19, 1960 at the age of seventy-two. One of the outstanding modern historians of his generation in Britain, his book, *The Structure of Politics in the Eighteenth Century*, is considered a classic. He spent much of his life in teaching and research at Balliol College, Oxford, where he was educated, and served as professor of modern history at Manchester University from 1931 to 1953.

St. George L. Siousatt, well-known historian and archivist, died August 31, 1960, at his home in Washington, D. C., at the age of eighty-two. A native of Baltimore, he attended Johns Hopkins University and received his Ph.D. degree in 1899 at the age of twenty-one. During the half century from his instructorship at Smith College (1899-1904), his rise, rich in variety of service and friendships, to pre-eminence as an elder statesman among American historians was consistent. He was professor of economics at the University of the South from 1904 to 1911, professor of American history at Vanderbilt University (1911-1917), Littlefield professor of history at Brown University (1917-1920), and from 1920 to 1938, professor of American history at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1938 he accepted Herbert Putnam's invitation to become chief of the Manuscript Division and to take the chair of American History at the Library of Congress. Upon his retirement in 1948, he was made honorary consultant to the Library in American historiography, in recognition of his successful administration of the division during a most critical period. In these years the entire collection was moved from the main building to the annex, completely inventoried, and, after Pearl Harbor, removed to places of safety, returned, and reinstalled in time for the opening of the Todd Lincoln collection of the papers of Abraham Lincoln (1947). Along with making the holdings of the division available to scholars, the program of accession was also accelerated.

In addition to his devotion to his professional duties Dr. Siousatt always interested himself in the intellectual and cultural life of the communities in which he lived. During his early years in the South he made the problems of history in secondary and college education a major concern. He was president of the History Teachers Association of Tennessee and president and member of the editorial board of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. During his years in Philadelphia he took an active part in the affairs of the American Philosophical Society, serving as vice-president (1947-1949), member of its committee on library (1934-

1960), chairman (1934-1942) and member of the special committee on policy (1939-1941). He was a member of the executive committee of the American Historical Association (1921-1923), member of the National Historical Publications Commission (1934), and ex officio (1938-1948). Dr. Siousatt's writings consisted chiefly of scholarly monographs, reports, and papers distinguished by meticulous care for accuracy and precise information which also characterized his teaching and administrative work.

Chester W. New of Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, died in August 1960.

Louis Taylor Merrill, chairman of the Beloit College history department and prominent journalist, died September 3, 1960, at the age of sixty-four. He received his Ph.D. degree in history from the University of Chicago in 1934. His newspaper experience included service on the staff of the *Milwaukee Journal* and editorial writing for the *Chicago Tribune*.

The American Historical Association notes with great regret the passing of the chairman of its Board of Trustees, Mr. Arthur Wilson Page of New York. Mr. Page died on September 5, 1960, at the age of seventy-six. Business executive, editor, governmental consultant, he long served the public and scholarly interests. Born in North Carolina, the son of Walter Hines Page, and a graduate of Harvard University in 1905, he became an editor for Doubleday, Page, and Company. He served as vice-president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. from 1927 to 1947, and after his retirement, he became a consultant to government and to business. Mr. Page was a member of the Association's Board of Trustees from 1944, and he long, faithfully, and successfully supervised the investment of the Association's limited funds. In 1954 Columbia University awarded him a well-merited Doctor of Laws degree containing the citation, a "New Yorker who knows well the United States and an American who understands the world."

Clarence H. Haring, professor emeritus of Latin American history and economics at Harvard University, died in September 1960 at the age of seventy-five. Professor Haring taught at Bryn Mawr College and Clark and Yale Universities before going to Harvard in 1923, where he remained until his retirement in 1953.

Roscoe R. Hill, internationally known archivist and historian, died October 26, 1960, at the age of eighty. He received his Ph.D. degree at Columbia University, lecturing there and at George Washington and New York Universities. In 1911 the Carnegie Institution sent him to Spain to conduct research in Spanish documents relating to the United States. He also served in Spain as director of the European Mission of the Library of Congress from 1926 to 1930. Following work in Spanish and other foreign archives, Mr. Hill was employed by the National Archives in 1935. He retired as chief of the Department of State Division in 1946. His historical works include the editing of the Journals of the Continental Congress and the writing of numerous historical studies on Latin America and the United States.

Katharine Sprague Alvord, Charles Chaney Baker, Harry O. Chamberlin, and Harry Miller Lydenberg, all life members of the Association, died recently.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Questions are often asked about the *Review* style in articles. Twice in recent years (*Review*, Oct. 1956, 289-90; Jan. 1959, 535-36) an editor's note has discussed the subject. Here once more we offer suggestions to authors who may prepare manuscripts for submission. Both text and footnotes should be double spaced; the latter should be at the end following the text. The first time an individual is mentioned in the article or footnotes his first and last name or his first two initials and last name should be included. In the footnotes all book citations should contain the total number of volumes in the work and the inclusive dates of publication. References to periodicals should include the volume number and the month or number of the periodical cited and the year of publication. In matters of capitalization, punctuation, and the like, the *Review* generally follows the *Chicago Manual of Style*.

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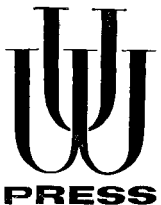
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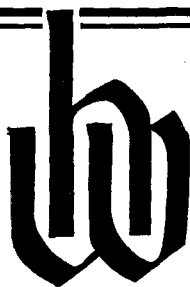
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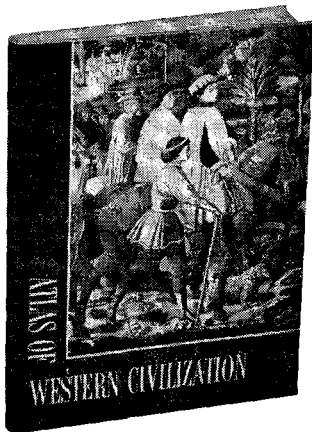
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